

GREEN LETTER

Vol. 7 No. 1
Summer 1991



\$2.00

Greener Times



*Oh daylight rise! atoms are dancing
Each atom, happy or miserable
Is in love with the
Sun, of which we can say nothing.*

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Attention Greens!

The final version of the U.S. Greens program (the SPAKA document) is now being mailed to all active locals for final input. Deadline for input is July 10, 1991. See page 51 for more information.

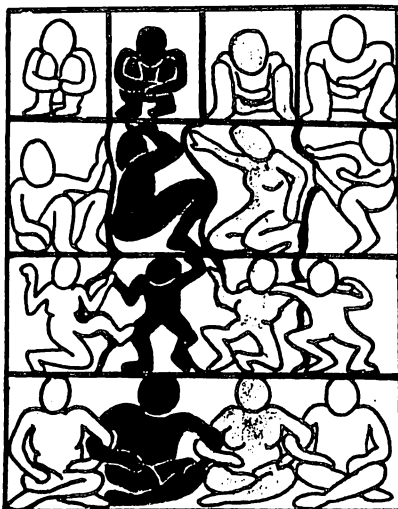
Green Gathering 1991

August 15-21

Davis & Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia

Conference: August 15-18

Workshops
Panels
Children's Presentation
Community Building
Green Fair
Campfires
Hiking
More...



Congress: August 19-21

Structure
Elections
National program
Action Proposals
Green Parties
Strategy
Evening Cabaret
More...

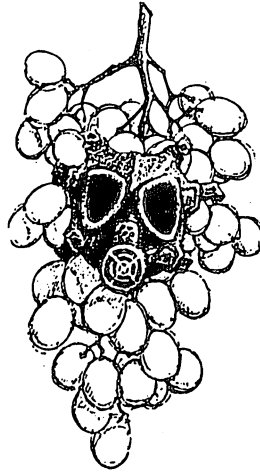
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Green Gathering 1991, Rt 1, Box 7, Pullman WV, 26421, (304) 659-3193 or (614) 59-GREEN

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GREEN LETTER



Greener Times

Green Letter is an independent quarterly covering the Greens and other grassroots activist groups. It is a project of the Tides Foundation.

The Greens (formerly the Green Committees of Correspondence) are a network of local organizing groups throughout the United States.

The *GL* Collective: Casey Adair, Margo Adair, George Franklin, Kristy Lee, Heidi Lieberman, Steve Nadel, Pamela Osgood, Blair Sandler

Cover Art: The Monthly Planet

Cover Poetry: excerpted from Rumi, a Sufi poet

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of *GL*.

Correspondents: Aurora Bricio, Madrid; Rick Davis, Japan; Miguel Grinberg, Buenos Aires; Anna Gyorgy, Bonn; Jim Habe, Illinois; Neil Horner, Vancouver; Frank de Jong, Toronto; Jürgen Maier, Bonn; Ralph Meima, Sweden; Michael Modinas, Athens; Juan José Montiel, Nicaragua; Sara Parkin, France; Mati Rahu, Estonia; Yannis Schizas, Athens; Anny Squire, England; Michael Feinstein, Los Angeles; Kate Fox, Youth Greens; Jay Hansen, Minnesota; Howard Hawkins, Left Greens; Gayle Hudgens; Kip Krueger, San Diego; Ross Mirkarimi, International Group; Connie Salamone, New York; Jeff Taylor, Missouri; Bill Weinberg, New York; Betty Zisk.

Subscriptions & address changes: Green Letter Subscriptions, P.O. Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114 (please include old label as well as new address). Members of Green locals please send address changes directly to the Greens Clearinghouse. Address all editorial, business and production correspondence to: Green Letter Editorial Collective, P.O. Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114.

Printed by Alonzo Printing Company and members of Graphic Communications International Union Local 583, on recycled paper, using soybean-based inks.



International Actions at Nevada Test Site

Bryan Bence and Pamela Osgood



The American Peace Test held a peace encampment at the Nevada nuclear test site from April 3rd - 8th. The action was organized in cooperation with the Western Shoshone National Council and brought together the representatives from eight Native American nations, the National Association of Radiation Survivors, the Alliance of Atomic Veterans, Downwinders, over 1500 people from across the U.S. and anti-nuclear activists from Tahiti, Japan, Kazakhstan, USSR, Belgium, Germany, Australia and the Marshall Islands.

Simultaneous actions were held in Tahiti, Japan, Great Britain and the Netherlands and were coordinated by the Global Anti-Nuclear Alliance, which was launched by grassroots activists at the Partial Test Ban Treaty Amendment Conference at the United Nations in January.

The unprecedented international alliance which gathered at the Nevada test site held a series of teach-ins, ceremonies, rallies and non-violent direct actions. Over 650 people were arrested at actions held during the week.

On Friday afternoon Wise Fool Puppet Intervention, a terrific stilt-walking and giant puppet collective from San Francisco, performed a delightful skit at the main entrance to the test site. Even the police were captivated.

Other highlights of the encampment included teach-ins by Corbin Harney and Raymond Yowell of the Western Shoshone, Leon Shenandoah of the Onondaga and Chief of the Six Nations of Iroquois, Hopi elder Thomas Banyaca, Marguerite Tetuanui of the Liberation Front in Tahiti, The National Association of Radiation Survivors and the Downwinders. Every evening native people led sweats till late in the night which were individually purifying experiences as well as community building. This also helped to create a more focused feeling at the camp.

Wonderful, nutritious vegetarian meals were lovingly and joyfully provided three times daily by Seeds of Peace and Food Not Bombs.

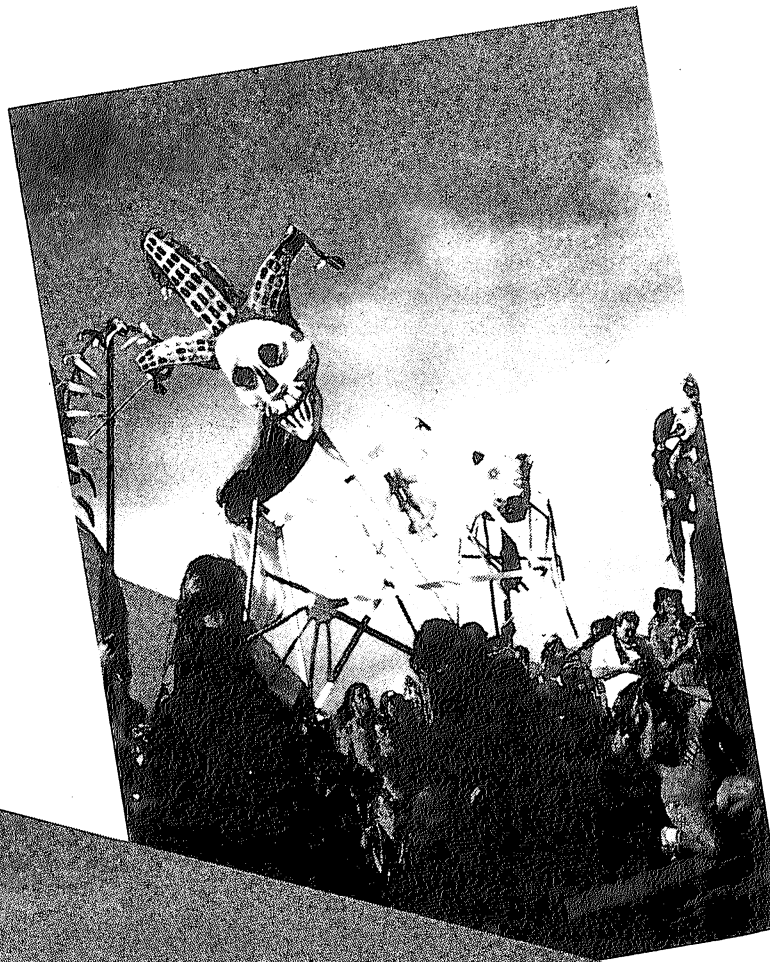
Native American elders and youth along with other native people from Kazakhstan, Tahiti, and Australia conducted a very inspiring healing ceremony for Mother Earth and all her inhabitants Saturday morning. A terrific rally followed, with survivors of nuclear mining and testing from around the world giving very moving testimony and demanding that all governments cease testing and take responsibility for the damages, contamination and suffering they have already inflicted upon the people of the world as a result of 45 years of



Top, Chief Shenendoah of the Six Nations speaks in the healing circle, by Dana Schuerholz; middle, Marguerite Tetuanui of the Liberation Front of Polynesia dances in the street, by Pamela Osgood; bottom, two of the 650 protesters arrested in the actions, by Dana Schuerholz



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Puppets Protest Nuclear Testing

A highlight of the April Nevada action was a ritual theatre performance co-ordinated by the Wise Fool Puppet Intervention troupe from San Francisco. The ritual symbolized the wish to heal the desert and the planet from the ravages of nuclear testing.

Contact Wise Fool Puppet Intervention at 1075 Treat, San Francisco CA 94110.



Photos

- Upper left, "Silence," one of four puppets symbolizing human responses to nuclear terror. Other puppets included Horror, Rage, and Grief.
- Upper right, the Capitalist Fool puppet worshipping a mushroom cloud.
- Middle right, a stiltwalking "Bird of Death" dances around the mushroom cloud.
- Lower left, all of the puppets gather to begin the ritual.

Photos by Pamela Osgood



Questions To Ask Fellow Americans About The War and Its Aftermath

by Kevin Danaher

1. Is it wrong to criticize the war, seeing as it seemed to be popular among the American people?

Being popular doesn't make something correct: slavery was once popular, segregation was popular, and the internment of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps during World War Two was popular.

African-Americans didn't think the war was such a great idea. Opinion polls show that just 48 percent of African-Americans supported the war. The entire Congressional Black Caucus, except for the one black Republican, voted against going to war. Perhaps African-Americans are more sensitive to U.S. gunboat diplomacy that kills people of color in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. They are probably more sensitive to the fact that while 141 U.S. soldiers were killed in the Gulf war since August, 285 Americans (mostly black) were killed during the same period on the streets of our nation's capital.

2. Will the United States take no responsibility for the damage inflicted on the Iraqi people?

At no time during the war did the U.S. government give estimates of either the civilian or military casualties we were causing in Iraq. Current estimates from international relief agencies put the number of Iraqi dead near 200,000, with tens of thousands physically and psychologically scarred by the most intensive bombing campaign in history.

The highly inaccurate U.S. bombing—less than 7 percent of U.S. bombs were "smart bombs" with guidance systems—caused widespread destruction of ci-

vilian installations such as hotels, houses, apartment blocks, hospitals, schools, water purification plants, theaters, and market-



places. Roadways are littered with the smoldering hulks of tractor-trailers, buses, pickup trucks, taxicabs, and other civilian vehicles.

The bombing also destroyed nuclear power plants and chemical weapons factories that released toxic substances into the environment. This is a form of chemical warfare more devastating than anything Saddam Hussein could throw at the coalition forces.

In addition to the Iraqi civilians killed directly by allied bombing, there are many innocent people dying from things like dysentery from impure drinking water, shortage of medicines, and infections in hospitals due to a lack of water and cleansers to disinfect operating rooms. A United Nations' team reported in late March that damage to Iraqi agriculture was so severe that "widespread starvation conditions" are a "real possibility."

Yet George Bush says "not a dime for Iraq."

3. Will the Bush administration and Congress be as concerned about human

rights abuses in "liberated" Kuwait as they were during the Iraqi occupation?

Kuwait was unique in that Kuwaitis

were a minority in their own country (600,000 of a total population of 2.1 million). Thousands of guest workers from poor countries such as India, Pakistan and the Philippines made up the majority. These, and more than 400,000 Palestinians, were second-class citizens, brought in for their labor but "disposable" if they caused trouble or were no longer

needed. But even Kuwaiti citizens living under the dictatorial rule of the Sabah clan do not enjoy the basic democratic rights we consider essential.

The Sabah family was installed in power by the British 70 years ago and they have dominated the country to this day. Before the ground war, Kuwaiti officials admitted they were planning to jail Palestinians who stayed behind during the Iraqi occupation on the suspicion that the Palestinians had collaborated with the Iraqi invaders. Since the return of the Kuwaiti government Palestinians and members of the Kuwaiti movement for democracy are being beaten, tortured and shot by Kuwaiti government forces. The Pentagon blueprint for the reoccupation of Kuwait calls for martial law with no plan for establishing democratic institutions. Can Americans be proud of reinstating this dictatorship?

4. What will the U.S. government do to promote freedom and democracy in Saudi Arabia?

Saudi Arabia is the linchpin of U.S.

policy in the Gulf. Yet it is a country that is profoundly undemocratic. Many of its practices go against basic American values. Saudi Arabia does not have elections, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press. It does not even have a constitution. The exercise of any religion other than Islam is outlawed.

Women are second-class citizens, unable to work in public, drive cars, or play a role in governing the country. The hundreds of thousands of guest workers from other countries are third class residents, lacking the most basic rights.

The Saudi ruling class is inherently unstable because (1) it is so small relative to the population, (2) its fantastic wealth contrasts so starkly with the poverty of most Muslims in the rest of the world, and (3) it is now seen as being totally dependent on the United States.

Do we really want to stake our policy in the Gulf on such a regime?

5. What will the U.S. government do to reduce America's dependence on non-renewable energy sources, especially oil from the Persian Gulf?

The national energy policy announced recently by the Bush administration could have been written by the big oil companies. It calls for opening the U.S. continental shelf and wilderness areas to more drilling even though these areas can only provide a small portion of U.S. energy needs. The policy also promotes construction of more nuclear power plants, increased use of coal, and construction of highly polluting garbage incineration plants.

The Bush policy ignores the great po-

tential of conservation and non-renewable energy alternatives. Since 1979 the U.S. has gained seven times as much energy through increased efficiency as through increased production. If we increased the gasoline mileage of our automobiles from their current 20 mile per gallon average to 32 mpg, we would save as much oil as the United States currently imports from the

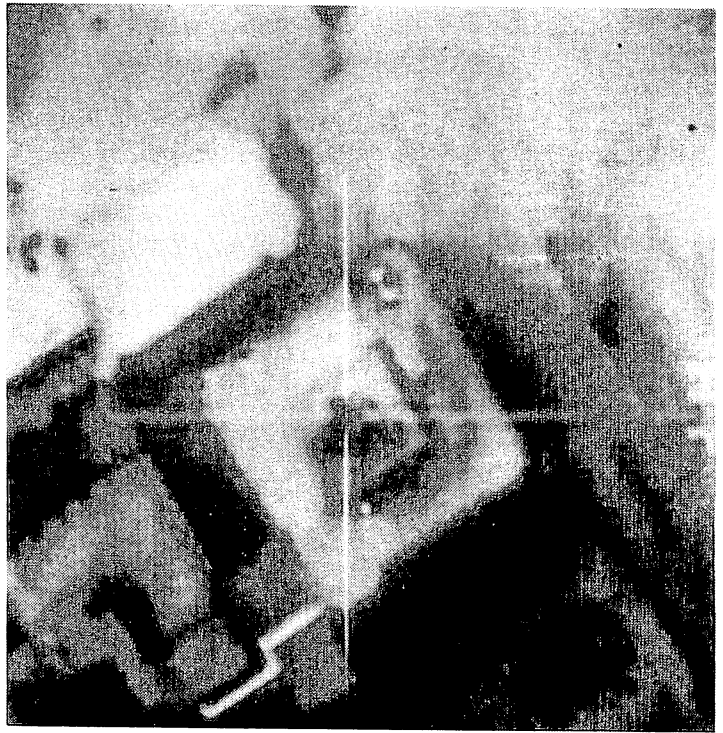
entire Middle East. Automobiles already exist that get 120 miles per gallon. Electricity use could be cut in half using existing technology, resulting in a savings of \$50 billion per year. Light rail systems are just one-seventh as costly as urban highways. Yet none of these and other advances are embraced by the Bush administration.

Many people are claiming that our victory over Iraq guarantees access to "cheap oil." But oil from the Gulf is not really cheap. When you factor in the military expenditures and foreign aid we were spending in that region *before* the huge expenditures of the recent war, the price of a barrel of oil from the Gulf averaged \$80 in 1990, not the average \$17.50 charged by

OPEC. But that higher price was mainly absorbed by U.S. taxpayers, not the giant oil companies that are the bread and butter of people like George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker.

6. Americans who favored the war urged us to "support the troops." Will they now support the troops by demanding that homeless Vietnam veterans be helped and that V.A. hospitals be adequately funded?

A prevalent myth is that



following the Vietnam war it was the peace movement that mistreated returning veterans. The truth is that people in the peace movement were the ones who set up counseling groups and coffee houses where veterans could share their experiences and work through their problems.

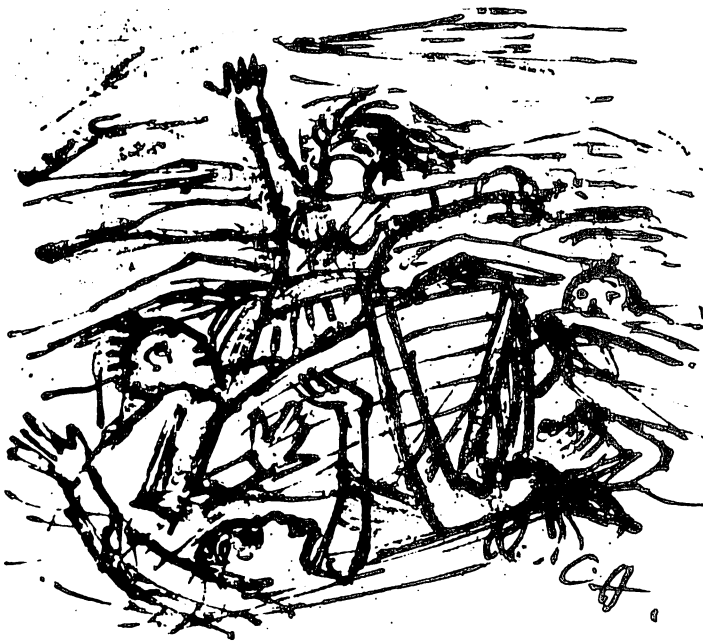
In fact, it was the government that slighted the veterans. Instead of blaming the Vietnam war's failure on the generals and politicians who ran the war, our leaders singled out for punishment the grunts and low-level officers such as Lt. Calley. The politicians failed to fund rehabilitation and job programs, so thousands of veterans ended up in jail or out on the streets. The Pentagon refused to admit that the agent orange herbicide it used so widely in Vietnam was causing horrible diseases among veterans and their families.

After the parades and hoopla following the Gulf war, will our government make a serious commitment to the jobs, housing and other social needs of our veterans?

7. What will we do to address the longest-running conflict that destabilizes the Middle East: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

No matter what we think of Saddam Hussein's lame efforts to link his aggression with the Palestinian cause, the issue is a source of pain throughout the Arab and





continued from preceding page

many other parts of the third world. Refusing to seriously address the issue—as our government has done for decades—ensures that U.S. policy will engender animosity throughout the world.

There are some Israelis who support an international peace conference to settle outstanding disputes with Arab nations. But the conservative Israeli government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir refuses to trade land for peace.

Shamir has brought into the government the leader of the far-right Moledet party that advocates throwing all Palestinians out of Israel. The government has been imposing a 24-hour curfew on Palestinians. Israeli security forces have shot violators on sight, including a young woman with a baby who merely stepped

out on her patio.

Shamir's government refuses to even talk to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Whatever non-Palestinians think of the PLO, it does represent most Palestinians and no solution to the conflict is possible without the participation of the PLO.

Only if the U.S. government is willing to apply pressure will the government of Israel move toward a just settlement with the Palestinians.

8. What are we number 1 of?

The United States ranks first in the world in military expenditures but only fifth in literacy. We are first in the world in number of nuclear bombs but seventh in education spending per capita. We rank number one in military bases worldwide but only eighth in life expectancy. We rank first in the number of warships and warplanes but only eighteenth in infant mortality.

We are witnessing a crisis in American values. Our fellow citizens seem proud of the fact that we can kill nearly a quarter million people to put a dictator back in power in Kuwait, yet the real "national security" of education, jobs, health care and housing is crumbling all around us.

We must confront the sorry fact that every time a recent President has used military force against a small country (Reagan in Grenada and Libya, Bush in Panama and Iraq) the president's approval rating in the polls has skyrocketed. How can we educate Americans away from this violent jingoism? How can we redefine patriotism so our compatriots take more pride in the effectiveness of our schools and clinics than in the effectiveness of our bombs?

Kevin Danaher is Director of Public Education with Global Exchange, a non-profit research and action center building links between Americans and grassroots development efforts in third world countries. Contact: 2141 Mission St., Rm. 202, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 255-7296. □

The Peace Movement's Next Steps

What, then, are the issues on which we should speak out in this new climate? Several head the line.

Reduce global militarization. ... governments of both West and East had become addicted to the use of arms transfers as an instrument of power and influence in the Middle East. Global demilitarization, nuclear/chemical non-proliferation and arms export restraint should be the centerpiece of a new peace movement strategy.

Achieve reconciliation in the Middle East. In the wake of the gulf war, we must campaign for the resolution without bloodshed of other key conflicts in the Middle East, notably the Israeli—Pales-

tinian conflict. The peace movement should lead the call for Palestinian statehood in the West Bank and Gaza, accompanied by ironclad guarantees of Israeli security.

Rescue the home front. Along with health and education benefits for all G.I.s, we should demand that Congress honor these young people by taking money from the defense budget and putting it into economic reconstruction at home.

Put nuclear arms control back on track. Despite all the talk of a new, post-cold war era, a resurgence of the nuclear arms race could easily occur. It is essential that the peace movement reactivate antinuclear sentiment in this country and campaign

for key arms-control measures.

Together, these four concerns represent the core of a new strategy for the peace movement. Such a strategy will not erase the sadness stemming from our inability to prevent the Persian Gulf war but should provide the movement with a credible and important agenda for this postwar era.

Michael Klare, Associate Professor of Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College

(Excerpted from "The Peace Movement's Next Steps," Mar 25, 1991 edition of The Nation,) □

Apologies to All the People in Lebanon

Dedicated to the 600,000 Palestinian men, women, and children who lived in Lebanon from 1948-1983.

From the book, *Naming our Destiny*, by June Jordan. Copyright 1989 by June Jordan. Used by permission of the publisher, Thunder's Mouth Press.

I didn't know and nobody told me and what could I do or say, anyway?

They said you shot the London Ambassador
and when that wasn't true
they said so
what
They said you shelled their northern villages
and when U.N. forces reported that was not true
because your side of the cease-fire was holding
since more than a year before
they said so
what

They said they wanted simply to carve
a 25 mile buffer zone and then
they ravaged your
water supplies your electricity your
hospitals your schools your highways and byways all
the way north to Beirut because they said this
was their quest for peace

They blew up your homes and demolished the grocery
stores and blocked the Red Cross and took away doctors
to jail and they cluster-bombed girls and boys
whose bodies
swelled purple and black into twice the original size
and tore the buttocks from a four-month old baby
and then
they said this was brilliant
military accomplishment and this was done
they said in the name of self-defense they said
that is the noblest concept
of mankind isn't that obvious?

They said something about never again and then
they made close to one million human beings homeless

in less than three weeks and they killed or maimed
40,000 of your men and your women and your children

But I didn't know and nobody told me and what
could I do or say, anyway?

They said they were victims. They said you were
Arabs.

They called your apartments and gardens guerilla
strongholds.

They called the screaming devastation
that they created the rubble.

Then they told you to leave, didn't they?

Didn't you read the leaflets that they dropped
from their hotshot fighter jets?

They told you to go.

One hundred and thirty-five thousand
Palestinians in Beirut and why
didn't you take the hint?

Go!

There was the Mediterranean. You
could walk into the water and stay
there.

What was the problem?

I didn't know and nobody told me and what
could I do or say, anyway?

Yes, I did know it was the money I earned as a poet that
paid

for the bombs and the planes and the tanks
that they used to massacre your family

But I am not an evil person

The people of my country aren't so bad

You can't expect but so much

from those of us who have to pay taxes and watch
American tv

You see my point.

I'm sorry.

I really am sorry.

Warring Stories

Reading And Contesting the New World Order

The following is excerpted from an essay written in late February 1991, by Marcy Darnovsky, L.A. Kaufmann and Billy Robinson on the basis of a series of discussions among members and friends of the Bay Area Socialist Review Collective.

How do we understand this war—and what can we do about it? The slogans we chant in protest are unsatisfying because they seem so incomplete. Is blood really being spilled primarily for oil? What's the real agenda of this war, and is it hidden right on the surface? Is the Gulf War born of capitalism's triumph in the Cold War, or is it a desperate move by a declining empire? What exactly is at stake, globally and domestically?

The dimensions of the conflict that a strictly economic interpretation misses may be as important as the truths it captures. There's a gap between the scale of the economic interests involved and the scale of the war... Certainly, economic factors alone cannot explain what has made this war such an easy sell to the U.S. public. If we are to convince others to join us in opposition to it, we need to understand the jumbled mix of stakes and desires—factors not easily reducible to economic terms—that have helped this war garner such broad, though possibly shallow, support.

Behind the talk of a new world order is a contest to determine the balance of power in the post-Cold War world—a contest among the supposed victors of the Cold War, the advanced capitalist countries.

Whatever else the Bush administra-

tion is doing in the Gulf, it seems to be staking out a place for an economically declining United States vis-a-vis the economically ascendant, but largely demilitarized, European Community and Japan. When Bush declares that this war will not be an

equation of power, helping to create the vacuum that George Bush and Saddam Hussein are now battling to fill.

Part of what we see taking place in and around the Gulf War is the beginnings of a post-Cold War, post-anticommunist American identity. To the extent that there's an overall recipe for this emerging identity, it seems to contain some familiar ingredients: part moral crusade, part racist interpellation of an "Other," and part reassertion of the U.S. role as a global power. The dimension of "moral crusade" come into play in the oft-repeated simile of the conflict: Saddam Hussein as Hitler.

It would be a mistake not to acknowledge how well this story is working and how widely it's being accepted. The anti-Arab, Cru-

sade-like character of the war is vicious and dangerous, not only in the most obvious sense, but also because it suggests the degree to which the emerging post-Cold War Americanism is placing racism at its very core. This racism... stands in continuity with the "subtler" racism of the domestic triage policies of the Reagan-Bush era, policies that have consistently attacked and sharply eroded living conditions for people of color over the last decade.

However, this emerging racism may be less stable than previous racisms. The now-widespread expression "people of color" speaks to the increasing tendency of African-American, Latinos, Asian-Americans and others both to stress shared experiences of racism and to celebrate culture and community across ethnic divides—creating new social resources for contesting the racist dimension of the new America.

There is another, related kind of iden-



tity at play and at stake in this conflict: masculine identity. This war has the look and feel of a testosterone-fest, an insanely exaggerated assertion of masculinity in the face of the well-known accusations of 'wimpiness' directed toward Bush and the declining U.S. empire over which he presides. Bush's equation of negotiations with weakness shows how very dangerous this conception of masculinity can be, and how profoundly it can structure the choices made by key figures in the conflict. A reactive, Rambo-style manhood seems considerably more threatening than many previous masculinities.

This war is also importantly a battle over history; over the meanings and lessons of the past, and particularly of the 1960's. Even before the fighting began in the Persian Gulf, comparisons and analogies between this conflict and the Vietnam War proliferated, and conflicting interpretations of the significance of that war have shaped much of the discussion about the war with Iraq.

In the initial wake of that war, many in the United States drew the conclusion that the United States should avoid direct military involvements in regional conflicts in the third world. The first set of responses to the "Vietnam syndrome," as its opponents labeled it, was war by proxy or surrogate. The second approach—now bearing fruit with the war against Iraq—has been a concerted effort to attack the Vietnam

syndrome head-on by means of an ideological campaign to recast the meaning of the Vietnam war, coupled with a gradually escalating pattern—from Grenada to Panama to Iraq—of direct use of the military as a tool of U.S. foreign policy. The revisionist "lesson" of Vietnam proved to be one of the most successful and clever ideological myths of Reaganism, effectively reversing "no more Vietnams" from an anti-militaristic slogan to a rallying cry for rearmament, more weapons systems, and new strategies for fighting regional wars.

The recycling of World War II patriotism is just one product of the Bush Administration's highly effective strategy of opinion management. Analyzing the techniques by which the media are manipulated and with which they manipulate is much easier than understanding why these techniques seem to work so well. At least one poll has shown significant public support for wide censorship of military reporting. It's naive to underestimate the seductions of war fever, or its continuity in U.S. political tradition. If the assault on the First Amendment, that fundament of liberal democracy, fails to move so many Americans, perhaps we need to re-evaluate the depth of the problems we face in our efforts to curtail this war and contest the discourse that surrounds it.

Many of our signs and slogans try to get these messages across, but we need more powerful ways to tell our stories, to

challenge the fairy tale that Bush and company are using to justify this war. Bush's story—Saddam Hussein as the dark and devious villain, the U.S. troops as white knights rushing to the rescue of Kuwait—draws on deep cultural reservoirs of Americanism, racism, and sexism, and fits them into simplistic but emotionally satisfying structures of good and evil.

The challenge is to find effective ways to... tell a convincing story of opposition not only to this frenetic effort to impose a "Made in U.S.A" stamp on the emerging new world order, but also to its underpinnings: the militarism, oppression, and systemic violence at home and abroad.

Our efforts won't stand a chance of convincing a significant portion of Americans to oppose this war if the ubiquitous comparisons to the Vietnam era are allowed to obscure the new forces of dissent and new bases of opposition that have emerged in the decades since the Vietnam protests. Today's antiwar movement is composed of and defined by people of color, feminists, lesbians, gays, AIDS activists, antinuclear protesters, anti-intervention activists, and environmentalists; its sensibilities are deeply informed by their analyses and organizing styles.

But if this antiwar movement draws on existing struggles, analyses and networks, it is also importantly a movement enriched by the presence of people who have become active or reactivated as a direct result of the Gulf War: people from small towns who have never seen, let alone attended, a demonstration; groups of high-school students, parents, therapists, health workers, or computer professionals, who not only come to the big rallies with homemade signs but who are also organizing antiwar projects of their own.

The shape this new constellation of opposition might take is certainly less than clear, and the persistent risks of both laundry-list politics and sectarian squabbling should not be minimized. But the present direction of the new antiwar movement is encouraging.

The entire essay is available as a pamphlet from *Socialist Review*, 2940 16th St., Suite 102, San Francisco, CA 94103 for \$1. Subscriptions to *Socialist Review* are available for \$24/year. □



Blockade Of San Francisco Federal Building; January 15, 1991

Alternative Budget for Alternative Energy

Coalition Releases Alternative To Administration's Budget for Renewable Energy: Proposes Three-Fold Increase to \$462 Million

March 13, 1991: Washington DC — As a part of an on-going critique of the National Energy Strategy, a coalition of consumer, environmental, industry, and government organizations delivered to Congress a detailed alternative to the Bush Administration's proposed Fiscal Year

1992 (FY '92) budget for research and development (R&D) of renewable energy technologies.

The groups' three-year funding proposal calls for the US Department of Energy (DOE) to spend \$462 million on wind, solar, hydroelectric, geothermal, biomass, and hydrogen energy technologies in FY '92, increasing that level to \$652 million by FY '94.

By comparison, the Bush administration is proposing only \$164.1 million in funding for renewable energy R&D in FY '92 — roughly one-third that being proposed in the alternative budget — and has made no recommendations for the ensuing years.

"While calling for 'increased development and greater use of alternative fuels' in the State of the Union address, President Bush is actually cutting funding for renewable energy below last year's level," charged Jonathan Becker, an energy policy analyst with Public Citizen. "In fact, the White House slashed the DOE's budget request for renewable by 26% — nearly double the average reductions it made in all other energy technology budgets."

The 48-page budget alter-

native, *Investing in Solar Energy — Recommendations for the US Department of Energy's Research and Development Budget for Renewable Energy Technologies: FY 1992-1994*, is the product of almost four months' preparation. It is the second edition of a similar proposal the sponsoring groups prepared for Congress in January 1990; the earlier edition was instrumental in securing the first increase in the DOE's renewable energy R&D budget in nearly a decade.

The alternative budget is the joint effort of more than thirty organizations including Public Citizen, the Union of Concerned Scientists, US Public Interest Research Group, the Solar Energy Industries Association, the American Wind Energy Association, the Geothermal Resources Council, the National Wood Energy Association, the National Hydropower Association, and the Energy and Environment Study Institute.

For each technology, the alternative budget includes a discussion of its current energy contribution, cost, and near-term potential. This is followed by a detailed break-down of the proposed funding level for each technology accompanied by a line-by-line justification for every proposed expenditure.

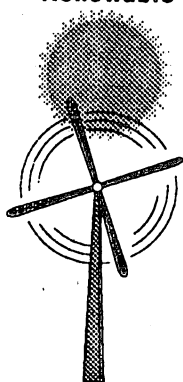
The group's recommendations include significantly enhanced funding levels and a series of new initiatives to promote the expanded commercial use of renewable energy technologies. The alternative budget also includes a detailed narrative on the

continued on page 59

Energy Survey Says...

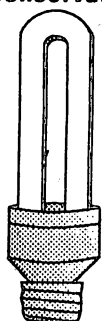
In a December 1990 national poll, a vast majority of Americans ranked renewable energy and conservation as their #1 or #2 priority for government funding (75% and 67%). Nuclear power ranked last (25%).

Renewable



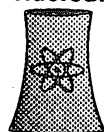
75%

Conservation



67%

Nuclear



25%

Sources: Research/Strategy/Management,
Greenberg-Lake: The Analysis Group
© Safe Energy Communication Council

Answers to Questions about US Energy Use

- Barrels of oil the United States consumes each day: 17 million
- United States proportion of world's cars: 35 percent
- United States proportion of world's population: 5 percent
- Percentage of US oil supplied by Iraq and Kuwait prior to current trade embargo: 5
- Cost to build a mile of urban highway: \$100 million
- Cost to build a mile of light rail mass transit: \$15 million
- Change in federal funding for mass transit from 1981 to 1989: minus 50 percent
- Reduction in Department of Energy budget for renewable energy between 1981 and 1989: 90 percent



Hidden Energy Costs

Richard Perez

Commercial electric power costs about 7.65 cents per kilowatt-hour, and gasoline costs around \$1.1 per gallon at the pump. I always figured that the true cost of energy was higher than this because the societal and environmental consequences of energy use are not included in these costs.

What is a "Hidden Cost? When we pay the power company's electric bill or fill up our car's tank, we pay a specific price for the energy we directly consume. What we also pay, sooner or later, are many hidden costs associated with our energy usage. For example, I quote Michael Nicklas in the American Solar Energy Society (ASES) report.

"Our free market economy operates best when both the buyer and the seller have complete knowledge of which choice will benefit them the most. With energy, this is obviously not the case. How many people know that sulfur dioxide from just our coal burning plants is costing Americans \$82 billion per year in additional health costs? How many farmers are aware that they are annually losing \$7.5 billion per year due to reduced crop yields caused by air pollution? And, how many people are really aware that nuclear waste and decommissioning costs (which, for the most part, we have not seen yet) are the equivalent of \$31 billion per year?"

What is really shocking is that we are actually paying between \$109 billion and \$260 billion yearly in hidden energy costs. In terms of an individual, each of us is paying over \$740 yearly in hidden energy

costs. Let's look at hidden cost starting with the potentially most expensive — our health.

Health Impact

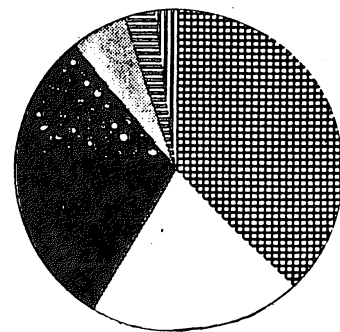
The major health impacts are caused by our combustion of fossil fuels. Here the information is far from complete and the maximum estimate is, in my opinion, most certainly low. This estimate is based on the combustion of low sulfur coal and the resultant sulfur dioxide pollution (which eventually winds up as acid rain). Ron White of the American Lung Association estimates that if the new Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) standards regarding sulfur dioxide emissions are adopted, Americans would save \$82 billion in health costs yearly. And this is just from cleaning up coal burning plants. The health costs of automobile emissions and nuclear waste/accidents are not included in this total. Who can really put a price on disease and pain?

State and Federal Energy Subsidies

The worst polluters, nuclear and combustion technologies, receive 90% of the government money. The renewable energy technologies, which offer little or no side effects, receive the least government support. Solar technologies receive only 3% of the government money. At the bottom of the list is conservation with 2% of the subsidy dollars. Conservation

State and Federal Energy Subsidies

Fuel Source	Subsidies in Billion \$ per Year	%
Nuclear	\$19.07	38%
Oil	\$10.53	21%
Coal	\$9.28	18%
Gas	\$6.44	13%
Hydro	\$2.77	5%
Solar	\$1.61	3%
Conservation	\$1.02	2%



offers immediate relief from our energy problems, is easily implemented and has no environmental side effects.

Radioactive Waste

The World Watch Institute estimates the disposal costs of nuclear waste at between \$1.44 and \$8.61 billion per year. Radioactive waste disposal isn't actually disposal, but containment. We have to responsibly ride herd on high level waste for thousands of years. We simply store it and hope our children can figure out a safe way to deal with it. This estimate does not include the cost of nuclear accidents.

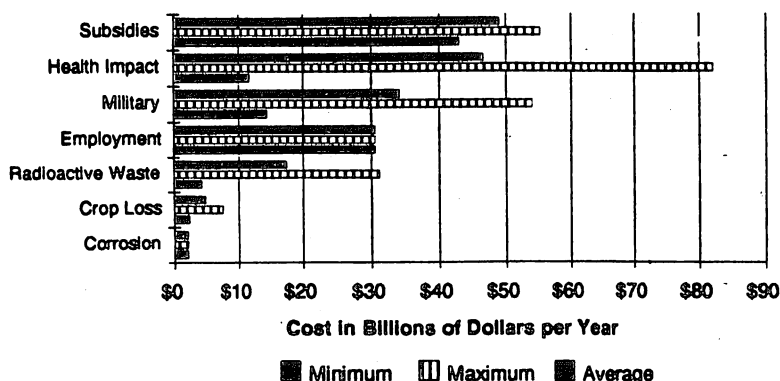
Crop Loss

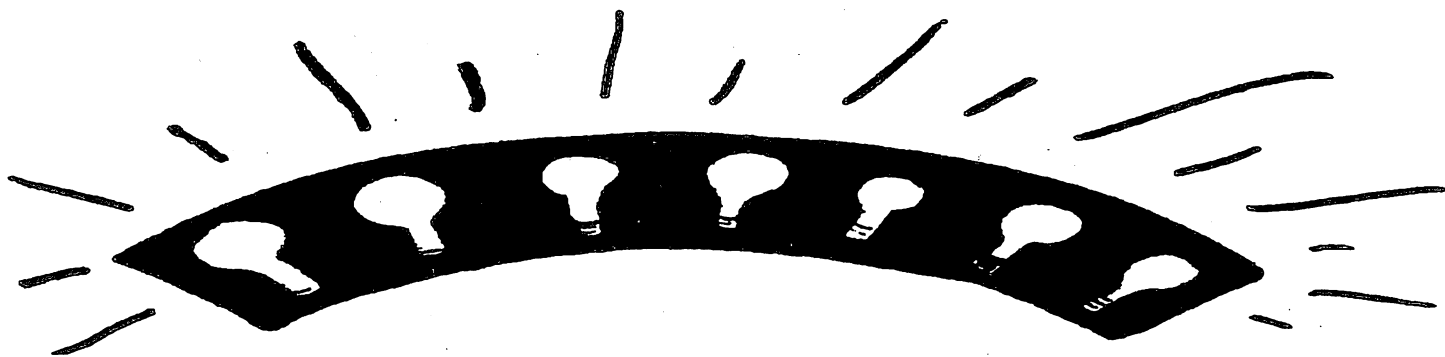
The EPA reported in 1988 that ozone pollution alone is reducing crop yields by up to 12% yearly, (about \$3 billion annually). Boyce Thompson of the Institute for Plant Research at Cornell University has revised this estimate to a 30% crop loss yearly with an annual price tag of \$7 billion. These estimates do not include crop losses due to global warming, acid rain, and other energy related forms of air/water pollution.

Corrosion

The primary component involved in corrosion is acid rain. Acid rain is produced by coal burning powerplants. It is estimated that the damage to metal buildings alone amounts to about \$2 billion yearly.

Hidden Cost of US Energy





Public Power Costs Less

Paula Ross

Why should communities consider public power? The first reason is usually lower electric rates, according to Larry Hobart, executive director of the American Public Power Association. Hobart spoke October 24 before Toledo's Electric Franchise Review Committee, Community leaders and elected officials.

"Public power systems are citizen-owned, locally controlled, not-for-profit, institutions where all the economic benefits are retained at home and service to customers solely motivates policies and personnel. That is a distinction that makes a difference," Hobart said.

In 1988, the most recent year for which comparable statistics are available, the average cost of electricity for public power's residential consumers was 21%

lower than the rates paid by customers of investor owned utilities.

Public power users and owners are one and the same, and all economic benefits are retained locally, according to Hobart. Public power systems are service-oriented and their only bias is toward providing what the customer wants. Typically, this means lower rates.

Federal figures show that the average rates paid by public power users are lower for residential, commercial and industrial customers.

The Electric Franchise Review Committee is charged with examining alternative sources of electric power for Toledo. The committee was created by City Council after an initiative campaign led by Citizen Action collected 27,000 signatures.

A team of consultants has been hired to begin this process, and they will report early in 1991 on possible benefits from alternatives including cogeneration, investment in energy efficiency, municipalization and the likely cost of each option.

For a Green Perspective, see the Fall, '89 SPAKA Statements on Energy

Power Struggle

Power Struggle, a book by Richard Rudolph and Scott Ridley (Harper & Row, NY. 1986) explores the industry's politics and the history of what has been a century-long battle for control of this country's electrical systems and resources. Rudolph and Ridley probe the back rooms of the federal government, the behind-the-scenes role of Wall Street in shaping a major industrial empire, and the explosive conflict between private and public interests over the choice of technology and control of a key industry.

Disillusioned with regulation and faced with economic and energy disasters of staggering proportions, a growing number of communities from Connecticut to California are trying to take over the private companies in their midst and to create new public power systems.

Power Struggle can be obtained from Essential Publications, PO Box 771, Bath, ME 04530, for \$18.95 + post/hand. (\$2 for the first and \$1 for each additional)

The Largest Utility in the World

Southern California Edison Co. is planning to merge with San Diego Gas & Electric, becoming the largest utility in the world. Edison intends to take advantage of lax controls on utility emissions in the Los Angeles area and generate most of San Diego's power there. Smog-forming nitrous emissions from Edison's power plants in the LA area are expected to increase by an average of 750 tons/year over the next ten years; the equivalent of 58,000 cars driven all year long.

Tell the Air District to stand firm against Edison's lobbying for looser limits to NOx emissions! Write a letter to Norton Younglove, Chairperson of the Air District and tell him to:

1: Keep the annual emissions cap in Rule 1135.

2: Set the annual cap as low as possible. The cap must be consistent with clean air goals in the Air Quality Plan.

3: If the financially strapped City of LA can find the money to repower with clean technology, Edison (one of the world's largest utilities) can install clean boilers too.

Send letters to: Norton Younglove, Chairperson, South Coast Air Quality Management District, 9150 Flair Dr., El Monte, CA 91731.

Excerpted from an Action Alert produced by the Coalition for Clean Air, 122 Lincoln Blvd., ste 201, Venice, CA 90291 (213)450-3190. (Please send them a

copy of any correspondence with the SCAQMD).



Utility Campaigns at the Local Level

Citizen Action is an Ohio state-wide organization that works with other local groups on energy issues including lowering utility rates, implementing more efficient electricity generation, and an overall community accountability of so-called "public utilities."

Ohio ranks fourth in the nation in emission of Carbon Dioxide (CO₂), the pollutant often linked with global warming. Electric utilities are responsible for 44.2% of the state's total CO₂ emissions. As the global warming crisis worsens, utilities will come under increasing pressure to significantly reduce CO₂ emissions, a task for which "fixes" like scrubbers or coal washing are not available at any price.

The recently passed Clean Air Act will cause rate hikes from 8% to 30% for acid rain compliance, unless utilities invest in efficiency instead of expensive anti-pollution scrubbers and out-of-state coal. Citizen Action is fighting for affordable energy with increased emphasis on conservation.

Stories of some successful Citizen Action campaigns around Ohio:

Akron: Ohio Edison, which received an 8.5% rate hike last summer, has shown no interest in electric efficiency. CA is designing a proposal—modeled on successful efforts underway in other states—for the Akron area. CA will push Ohio Edison to adopt the proposal and begin offering efficiency programs for residential and business customers.

Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton: Columbus Southern Power, Cincinnati Gas & Electric, and Dayton Power & Light are the owners of the new Zimmer coal plant. All three companies will be seeking a double-digit, multi-year rate increase when the plant begins to operating in the Spring. CA's offices in the three cities are starting to mobilize opposition to the rate hikes. Public Hearings will take place later this year.

Cleveland: CA is moving forward with an efficiency proposal for Cleveland Public Power. CPP is expanding rapidly. Public hearings this spring will outline the final phase for expansion to take the system city-wide. CPP's rates are now 25% to 30% lower than other local utilities. But

CPP's ability to purchase larger amounts of low-cost electricity from the wholesale market will be affected by an overall tightening of that market and the cost of new acid rain controls. Electricity efficiency can both help to build the system and maintain CPP's rate advantage.

Toledo and Youngstown: CA organized successful campaigns resulting in establishing committees in both cities to explore alternatives to high priced power of Toledo Edison. CA is continuing to organize public involvement and pressure to insure a positive outcome.

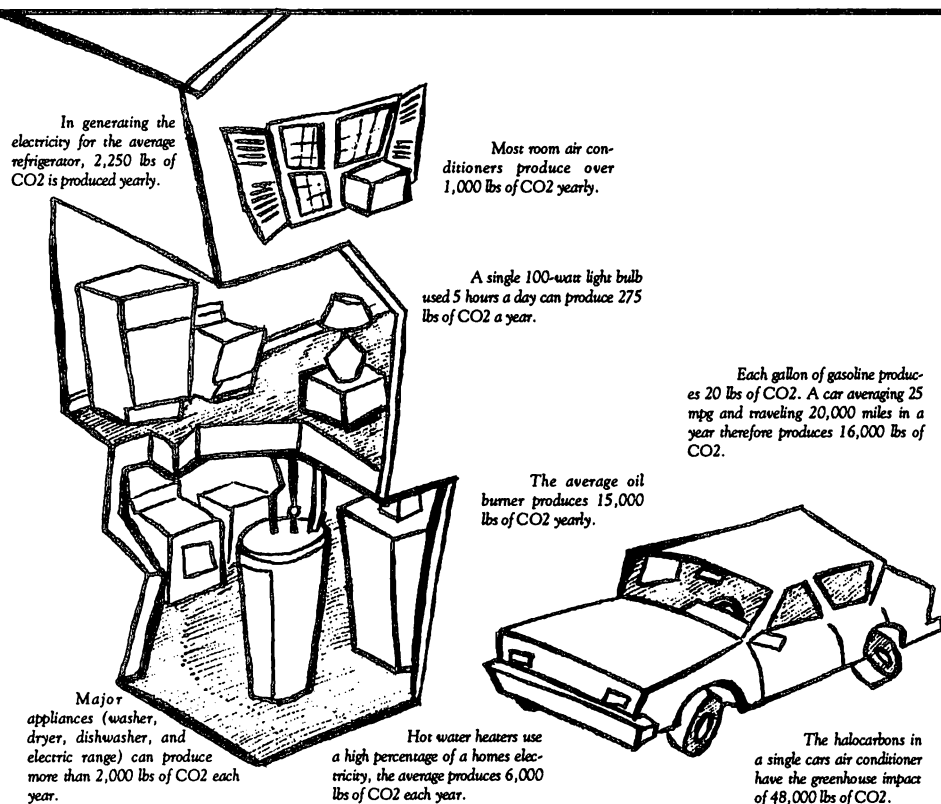
After a century of living with Toledo Edison, Toledoans have a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for change. The city council and the mayor have created an Electric Franchise Review Committee, charged with examining alternatives sources of electricity for Toledo and recommending terms for a franchise agreement. Toledo must prepare for the 21st century with reliable, reasonably priced

continued on page 60

Each year the United States increases the carbon dioxide(CO₂) content of the atmosphere by almost five trillion pounds, mostly as a result of using fossil fuels for energy. Emissions of chloroflourocarbons (CFCs), methane, and other gases have a heat trapping effect equivalent to another four trillion pounds of CO₂. Although the United States has less than one-twentieth of the world's population, it is responsible for more than one-sixth of greenhouse gas emissions.

This diagram, (adapted from *Nucleus*, a quarterly publication of the Union of Concerned Scientists) shows some of the ways in which individuals are responsible for CO₂ and other greenhouse gas emissions. The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) encourages individuals to change their personal behavior and also work to reform government energy policy.

UCS is located at 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238; (617) 547-5552.



Children of Chernobyl

Andre Carothers

The Republic of the Ukraine, August, 1990: We are winding north on a two-lane highway from Kiev toward Chernobyl and what they call the Zone — a 30 Kilometer circle of highly radioactive terrain around the entombed reactor.

More than 135,000 people have been evacuated from the area nearest the reactor, but another 4 million live under conditions of severe radiological contamination, according to Yuri Shcherbak, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Environment Committee. Shcherbak thinks the accident may end up costing the Soviet Union \$400 billion, a figure that exceeds both the money the country has spent building nuclear reactors and the energy generated by that investment.

A comprehensive assessment of the health effects of the 50 million-plus curies of radioactivity ejected from Chernobyl remains to be conducted. What information does exist is anecdotal and terrifying. According to an article in the Times of London, "hospitals in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and adjacent provinces are filled with victims. Whole wards are lined with gaunt, dying children." Moscow hosted an international telethon to raise money for Chernobyl relief, during which a spokesperson referred to 800,000 children at risk of contracting leukemia.

Ukraine doctors now routinely refer to what they call "Chernobyl AIDS," a radiation-caused immune deficiency that is not understood, or even accepted, by the medical community. A

vast array of illnesses, including pneumonia, tuberculosis, vision problems, anemia and other blood disorders, headaches, sleeplessness, nosebleeds and hair loss are all on the rise. There has simply never been a radiological accident of this scale before. And more is yet to come. Much of the damage that radiation causes to living cells manifests itself long after the exposure; tumors and leukemia that show up after three or four years, to genetically determined disorders that appear in the next generation.

Within a few weeks after the accident, officials had put a tight lid on conjecture. According to a researcher at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Moscow sent bureau-

crats to seal their radiation monitoring equipment, "They told us that what happened at Chernobyl was a secret." Anatolii Aleksandrov, former chairman of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and one of the designers of the graphite-moderated reactor, dismissed the frightening tales of medical problems in the Ukraine and Byelorussia as "overblown, if not absurd."

With the passage of time, the gulf between what people were experiencing and what Moscow said they should be experiencing widened. It did not help that medical information was withheld. All questions about radiation levels are answered with assurances that everything is normal. "If everything is so normal," one angry Ukrainian demanded, "why are they evacuating more and more villages?"

International Nuclear Cover-Up

For most people, the Chernobyl disaster is a distinctly Soviet problem. What Chernobyl fundamentally exposes, to the chagrin of the international nuclear industry, is that trying to control a chain reaction in unstable atoms of highly enriched uranium is an extremely foolhardy way to boil water.

The Kremlin's appalling handling of the accident and its aftermath, while inexcusable, is different only in degree from behavior that similar incidents have evoked in the West. A massive cover-up of nuclear power's hazards has been taking place since the technology was born. "There is an unwritten code of secrecy within the international civilian nuclear industry," writes a former managing editor of Nuclear Fuels and Nucleonics Week, two trade journals. "(The industry) downplays environmental considerations."

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev waited 19 days before issuing a statement about Chernobyl — a long time, but a good deal shorter than the 37 years it took the US Department of Energy to come clean on the enormous releases of radioactive iodine that descended on Oregon and Washington from the infamous Hanford Nuclear Reservation (and then only in response to a request under the Freedom of



Information Act). The reactor at Windscale in Britain suffered a graphite fire like Chernobyl in 1957. But British authorities neglected to mention it for three days, drawing vigorous protests from the Netherlands, where scientists had detected fallout the day after the accident. The full story about the Windscale accident did not come out until 1988, more than three decades after radioactive iodine first soaked into Cumbrian farmland.

Nor are bland assurances of safety a uniquely Soviet phenomenon. Even as the prestigious science journal *Nature*,

not known for its nuclear alarmism, was assessing the dose of Chernobyl fallout to the thyroid glands of infants in Scotland as roughly equivalent to 45 chest x-rays (a dangerous dose by any medical standards), British authorities were telling residents not to worry. The UK Environment Ministry set "safe" levels for radioactive iodine in milk three to four times higher than those set by the US and West Germany, dooming dozens of infants to a lifetime of thyroid problems. When even those levels were surpassed, authorities relabeled them as "advisory."

The nuclear establishment in the West is equally prone to adopt the fatuous optimism that issues almost by reflex from the mouths of Moscow officials after the accident. Two weeks after the near-catastrophe 1979 meltdown at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania, utility executives insisted that the reactor would be back on line within the year at a cost of perhaps \$100 million. A year later, the deadline was pushed back to 1985, and clean-up costs alone were pegged at \$1 billion. By 1985, the utility had sued the TMI reactor's manufacturer, Babcock and Wilcox, for \$4 billion, and the plant's operations had admitted that they had systematically destroyed, discarded, and failed to maintain records of radiation leaks and "concealed and covered up" data on the leaks from investigators sent by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

In its most appalling manifestation, this global cover-up is demonstrated by the

near absence of any significant international aid for Chernobyl's victims. Here is a disaster of global proportions, yielding thousands of injuries and hundreds of thousands of refugees, and one is left with the chilling sense that most nations wish it would just go away.

The Chernobyl accident should by all rights end the centralized push for nuclear power. In Eastern Europe, where the first blush of democracy has brought environ-

mental issues to the forefront of public concern, working reactors are being shut down and future orders shelved. A study by the

Chernobyl Union reports that public opposition in the Soviet Union has forced the cancellation of dozens of nuclear reactors, equivalent to the country's entire current capacity.

In the West things move much more slowly. Most threatening to the technology's continued acceptance is the controversy surrounding the effects of radiation on human health. The history of this inquiry is chillingly simple: every few years a new assessment is offered that finds nuclear radiation to be more dangerous than previously believed. Cautious researchers criticized as alarmist in one generation are proved correct in the next. Chernobyl, for better or worse, is a macabre laboratory experiment in the long-term effects of radiation on humans, and the results so far fit the historical pattern. Chernobyl's fallout is yielding previously unrecognized symptoms resulting from surprisingly low doses. Nuclear advocates blame the skyrocketing rates of illness on a form of nuclear hysteria, a dismissal that is rather like telling a shooting victim that it is not the bullet that threatens his or her life, but the loss of blood.

Moscow has invited the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to study the health effects of Chernobyl, an assessment that will do little to settle the controversy. The IAEA formed in 1957 to both promote and monitor the global

spread of nuclear technology. Although IAEA officials vehemently deny that the agency is anything but impartial, the record is not encouraging. The IAEA has consistently been one of the most resolute optimists about Chernobyl. In 1987, well before the harrowing tales of hospital wards full of radiation victims began to filter out of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, an IAEA report announced "if anything, there will be a modification downward of early calculations of risks and predictions of health consequences."

The reliability and integrity of Moscow's information gathering has been suspect from the start. Shcherbak tells of soldiers involved in the Chernobyl clean-up whose exposures were logged incorrectly or not at all. Medical records of over 67,000 radiation exposures recorded on computer disks, virtually the entire file on the Ukraine, were reported stolen and erased last August. So compromised and secretive are Moscow's health surveys that both Byelorussia and the Ukraine have begun collecting health data independently, leaving the IAEA with the interesting di-

"There is an unwritten code of secrecy within the international civilian nuclear industry"



lemma of deciding whose statistics to believe. For many in the emerging leadership of the Ukraine, the IAEA investigation is little more than a hollow pageant. "It is a script that has already been written," says one Ukrainian opposition leader. "And if by some chance it is not, no one will believe it anyway." □

Excerpted from GreenPeace Magazine, Jan/Feb, 1991



Oil, Exxon and Native Communities

Elise Scott

We are approaching the 2nd summer following what was, prior to the Gulf war, the most ecologically devastating oil spill ever. In the beginning, the country rose up to condemn Exxon Corporation's behavior in the events that led to the spill and in the corporation's response. Indeed, it seemed that finally a multinational would be held responsible for atrocities committed. Yet, two years later, Exxon, and its cohort in the spill, Alyeska Pipeline Consortium, the State of Alaska, and the pro-oil Administration in Washington have returned to the same business-as-usual working relationship that led to the spill in the first place.

"The Exxon Settlement will set a precedent for how corporate environmental crimes are handled in the future"

The settlement being negotiated by Alaska, the federal government, and Exxon betrays the interests of the parties most affected by the spill and has become yet another example that reveals the true interests of some of our public representatives. The behind closed doors negotiations of the settlement has been necessary to hide the failure of our publicly funded agencies to ensure the environmental safe-

ty of the people. For 20 years the state held a contingency plan it never tested; in

addition, the state's environmental laws were not enforced. These conditions leave the state a virtual puppet of industry. The federal government fairs no better in its position. The efforts taken by our public representatives to please the oil industry rather than their true constituency deserves nothing less than public outrage.

The Exxon Settlement will set a precedent for how corporate environmental crimes are handled in the future. The recent rejection of the criminal fines demanded in the settlement by Judge Holland is encouraging because the amount asked for was too low to be a deterrent to corporations who engage in criminal behavior. However, the portion of the settlement which negotiates \$900 million for civil charges is still in review by the Alaska legislature and deserves rejection as well.

The spill settlement fails in several ways. The most critical of these failures occur in three general areas; the legalities and moralities of the negotiations and the use of "trustees" for settlement money dispersal, the

treatment of Alaska Natives and other third parties, and the suppression of important studies and the failure to do others.

Immoral Ill-legalities

- The Exxon Settlement waives the people's right to sue on civil or criminal claims Alyeska Pipeline Company and its owner companies. George Miller (D-Martinez, CA) proved through Congressional investigation that Alyeska's owner companies conspired one year prior to the spill to not respond to oil spills in the Prince William Sound because they lacked the response capability.

- The state's constitution is being undermined by the settlement because it allows a party other than the state legislature to disperse state money from the settlement. There are three "trustees" identified in the settlement: Assistant Attorney Generals for the U.S.; one from the Dept. of Justice, the other from the Environment and Natural Resources, and the Attorney General for Alaska. However, Attorney General Cole, Alaska has said he would give up his trusteeship to the new Dept. of Natural Resources Commissioner, Harold Heinz. Heinz's last job was Vice President of ARCO Transportation and there are questions as to whether he was involved in the secret negotiations that resulted in Alyeska not having the response capabilities called for in its contingency. There is also no provision allowing legislature approval of spending programs.

- A proposed "wise" spending program offered by AG Cole recommends implementing development activities in the mostly remote Prince William Sound, such as airstrips for private planes, roads, picnic tables and resource extraction. This form of "restoration" is more of a death sentence to an already overwhelmed ecosystem.

- The current settlement amount of \$900 million was derived by "intuition" by Alaska's new governor, Wally Hickle. It is not based on analysis of data or impact studies and he received no one else's input. Lost subsistence opportunities are not cal-



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California: A National Nuke Dump?

Don Eichelberger, Abalone Alliance Staff

One of the major road blocks to the Bush administration's desire to build a new generation of nuclear power reactors, as proposed in his National Energy Strategy, is the nagging question of what to do with the wastes. As the 1993 deadline draws near for states to form regional compacts to dispose of their wastes, state after state has seen local opposition unite behind the refrain "NOT IN MY BACK YARD!"

In California, we have the dubious distinction of being the only state to be ahead of the mandated process. A "public process," involving the League of Women Voters, the State Health Department and the CalRad Forum (made up of commercial waste producers) has resulted in a final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) issued in May on the proposed site in Ward Valley, near Needles, CA, some two years ahead of schedule.

Besides greasing the skids for the creation of more nuclear power production in this country, there are a vast array of reasons to oppose this dump, which sits only 15 miles from the Colorado River border with Arizona and is home to the endangered Desert Tortoise.

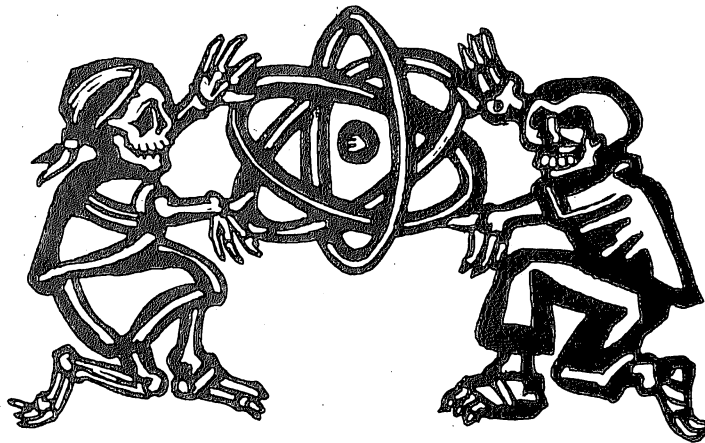
The proposed dump operator, US Ecology, has lawsuits pending in several states due to off-site migration of nuclear wastes at other dumps that they operate. US Ecology's credentials for operating this dump were never seriously questioned during the planning. Indeed, USE has spread many promises, and allegedly some money, over the process to gain control of local and statewide opposition. Local opposition was initially bought off by the company behind promises of the large number of jobs the site would create in this very economically depressed area. The community

is beginning to build a more unified opposition, and that opposition grew when it was recently revealed that the site would produce about eight ongoing jobs.

The dump plan itself calls for unlined trenches to handle all low-level wastes-

try to undermine opposition in other states.

It has also been put forward in congress that once the California dump—or any willing dump—has been licensed, the process for other regions to join other compacts may be relaxed, allowing that dump to be a national dump. Low Level waste dumps at Hanford, Washington and Beatty, Nevada, (both operated by USE), have put the country on notice that they will no longer be accepting wastes as soon as the compacts are in place. Once the dump is sited, California



which include all wastes generated at commercial reactors and during decommissioning, except the highly radioactive fuel cores. Such a design falls below even minimum safety standards for a municipal land fill dump. The water level at the site is allegedly over 600 feet below ground level, so USE and DHS do not believe that precaution of off-site migration needs to be incorporated into the dump design, despite a history of severe flash flooding in the area. Such a design is the cheapest possible, letting the waste producers off the financial hook.

While only California, Arizona and North and South Dakota are official compact partners, 18 other states, unable to get dumps in their regions due to public opposition, have so far sent letters to DHS indicating interest in contracting their wastes to the California dump. With California two years ahead of the dump compact process, its approval would give industry time to use the "good citizenship" of environmentally conscious California to

will have no jurisdiction about amounts and types of wastes allowed there. Those decisions will be in the hands of the NRC and congressional "emergency access" provisions.

The dump's proposed 30-year life would be followed by a 100 year monitoring period, either by USE or the state, despite the existence of wastes with half-lives up to several million years. Once the monitoring period has ended, any problems the dump experiences would be the financial responsibility of California taxpayers.

We are urging people to write letters to Governor Pete Wilson and demand that the State Department of Health Services be removed as the lead agency handling the siting process, and that the entire process be placed within the to-be-formed State Environmental Protection Agency.

For more information on the proposed dump and what you can do to help stop it, contact the Abalone Alliance, 2940 16th Street, S.F., CA 94103, (415) 861-0592.

□



The Havasupai Nation:

Fighting for Religious Access and Watershed Protection

Cate Gilles with Lena Bravo and Don Watahomigie

Five years ago the Havasupai Tribe discovered that one of the most sacred places in the world to the Havasu'uw Baa'ja (People of the Blue Green Water—their name for themselves) was swiftly becoming the site of a new uranium mine. Energy Fuels Nuclear's Canyon Mine (EFN) is 15 miles south of the Grand Canyon. The Forest Service not only granted EFN permission to mine but has approved 12 new uranium drill exploration sites in the vicinity of the Canyon Mine.

From 1986 to 1991, the Havasupai have lobbied against the mine in Washington, DC, struggled in federal court for recognition of their freedom of religion, and grappled with Arizona's Department of Environmental Quality over the issuance of a water quality permit for the mine.

When the Havasupai reservation was created by the US government in 1880, it measured 518 acres. In 1975 when the Tribe received the largest return of land to any native nation on the continent, the reservation was expanded by 185,000 acres. But the Grand Canyon Enlargement Act came with an unexpected price tag; any claims the Tribe had on the land outside the reservation boundaries were nullified. The Canyon Mine site is outside the reservation boundaries.

The Havasupai have continued to speak out about mining of their sacred ground in spite of racial condescension in the legal and environmental protection systems and religious harassment from law enforcement officials. Their struggle has required them to expose sacred beliefs and practices to judges and to lawyers as well as to amused and cynical corporate officials and to a curious public.

"Even sometimes among members of the Tribe we don't talk about these things. That's how we are." As the mine may not even be necessary or have a saleable product for some time, this exposure is even more painful.

When the Havasupai first mounted a legal challenge to EFN's destruction of the area for the mine site, the corporation produced a white anthropologist who said the

religious protection was outweighed by the government's claim to the land.

Another section of the Havasupai lawsuit challenged the Environmental Impact Statement regarding the safety of the aquifer and the surface and ground water. Expert hydrologists hired by the Havasupai Tribe and the Forest Service disagreed completely over the potential for contamination of the water. The federal judge who

heard the case said that because the Forest Service had followed the rules and met National Environmental Policy Act regulations, he would not rule against it.

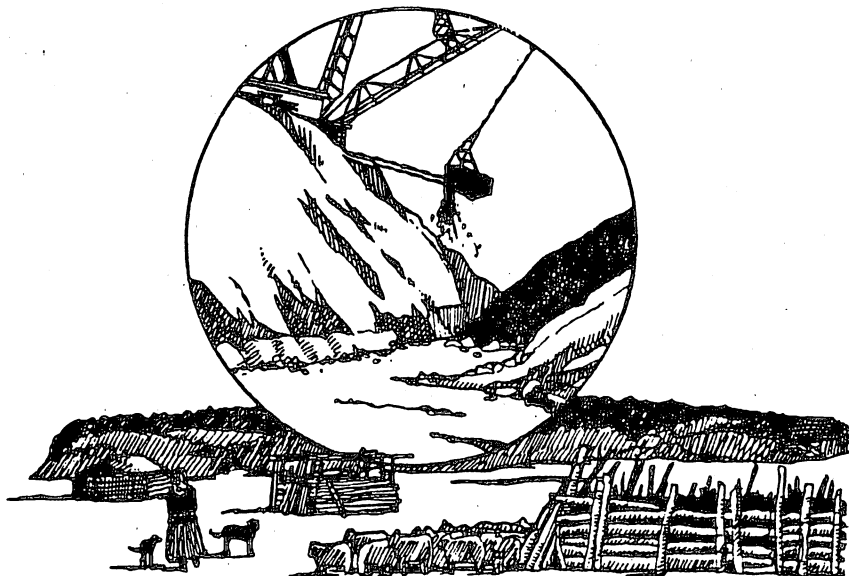
Less than five months after the decision was filed, in September, 1990, a flood ripped through the small village of Supai at the bottom of the Grand Canyon. No humans died, but livestock were killed and crops, homes and farms were damaged or

destroyed. The trail leading to the waterfalls of the Havasupai was wiped out as well.

There has not seen a flood of this power in the area since 1910. "The Great Spirit is trying to warn us against uranium mining," Rex Tilousi, the former vice-chairman of the Tribe, believes. "This is a sacred place. We cannot allow it to be stripped away."

Beyond the spiritual meaning given the flood by tribal members, they and the Tribe's attorneys see a very real and present danger to the surface water in Cataract Canyon and the aquifers beneath, should another flood of the same magnitude occur while the mine is operating.

Taken from The Workbook, published by Southwest Research and Information Center, Box 4524, Albuquerque, NM 87106. □



Havasupai claims were false because their religion was not "organized." And Teno Roncalio (D—Wyoming), who chaired a House subcommittee during the Grand Canyon Enlargement Hearings, said that because the Havasupai had not fully demonstrated their religion during the hearings, there was insufficient proof that the religion existed. Since the Tribe had not identified the specific site of the Canyon Mine as a sacred place to Congress, the Havasupai had no religious claim to any land outside the boundaries of lands held in trust for them, said the committee.

Later, US District Court Judge Roger Strand would declare that the presence of the Canyon Mine would indeed destroy the Havasupai's religion or "way." But Strand nevertheless found on the basis of precedent that the Havasupai's claim to



Appropriate Hydro: Notes of a Small Village

April 28th marked the fourth anniversary of the murder of Benjamin Linder, a project engineer at the Cuã-Bocã integrated development project in northern Nicaragua. Ben and two Nicaraguans, Pablo Rosales and Sergio Hernandez were murdered when the Contras ambushed a project crew building a device for the proposed Bocã hydroelectric plant.

The Sandinistas had chosen the region for a broad-based model development project. The purpose of Proyecto Cuã-Bocã is to promote environmentally sound development in a region physically and economically remote from services. On these ecologically delicate soils, where people depend on their own resources for survival, appropriate technology provides some solutions. Making use of abundant water resources in the form of a small river, hydro-generated electricity gives light to El Cuã's health clinic, schools, a machine shop and houses, and mechanizes small-scale coffee processing and rice hulling. Community members operate the micro-hydro plant and run the milling operation, and can perform all maintenance and most repairs.

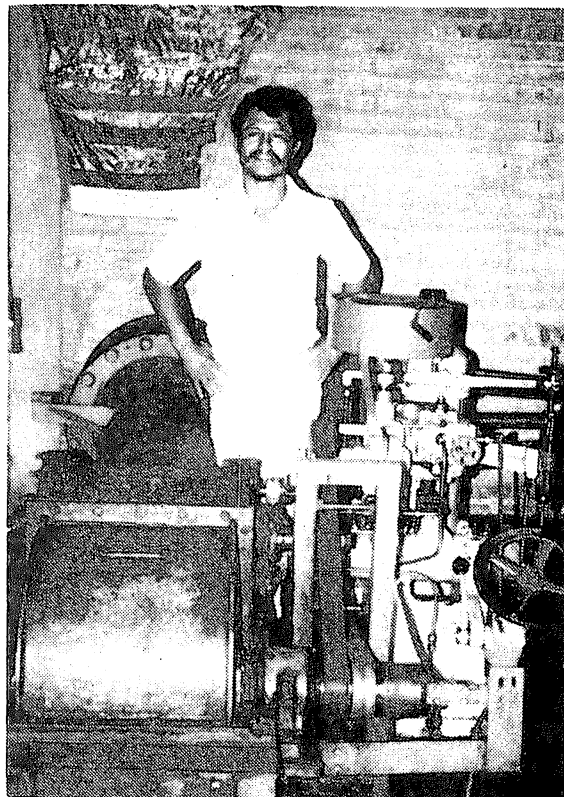
There are two basic principles that continue to guide the project. The first is to develop the local area's ability to devel-

op itself. Local residents are trained to perform the work. When possible, project members are hired locally. A full service metal-working shop, run by local people, was installed.

The second guide is the creative use of appropriate technologies for sustainable development. The use of renewable resources is a viable way out of poverty. This includes using hydro power as the energy source for mechanization, and meeting other community needs through local development of other natural resources on hand, such as clay and wood. These efforts, along with a large reforestation project, hope to foster greater self-reliance based on environmentally sound, sustainable development principles.

Work in El Cuã continues. Donations raised will go towards funding a skilled, mechanic, machinist and welder.

To contribute to the Cuã-Bocã



project, please send donations to the Material Aid Workgroup at Earth Island Institute, 300 Broadway, Suite 28, S.F., CA 94133. For more information call: (415) 788-3666. □

Oil Companies Threaten Indian Communities and the Amazon

Sarayaca, Ecuador: Arco is finishing an exploratory well on Amazonian Quechua Indian lands and soon the exploratory phase will be over and commercial drilling will begin. This is taking place despite the fact that the Ecuadorian government has signed an agreement with OPIP (Organization of Indian People of Pastaza) which states that all Indian lands in the Sarayacu Region would be demarcated and legalized, and all work being done by oil companies would cease until this happens. The agreement also states that adequate environmental measures would be enforced in the exploitation of resources. As of today, none of these agreements have been kept by the government.

The drilling is being done on Moretecocha Indian lands in the most intact Amazon rainforest left in Ecuador. The area

has had very little colonization but that is sure to change if commercial oil drilling begins. Several other oil companies are finishing explorations in the same province and gearing up to drill—including British Gas and Unocal. They appear to be waiting for a \$100 million loan from the World Bank to begin exploitation.

The situation is very critical and major violence may be inflicted upon the members of the indigenous organizations working to prevent this devastation; OPIP, CONFENIAE (The Confederation of Indian Organizations of the Ecuadorian Amazon) and CONAIE (The Confederation of Indian Organizations of Ecuador). These very strong Indian organizations are attempting to protect their people and homelands from destruction and are calling on the international community to

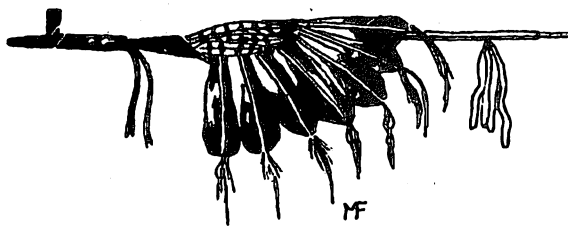
support them in their struggle.

Please contact Arco, the World Bank, and President Rodrigo Borja of Ecuador, to protest this critical situation and express your solidarity with the Indian people of Ecuador. President Rodrigo Borja, Palacio Nacional, Quito, Ecuador, Telex: 393-223-75 PREREP ED; LM Cook, Exec Dir, Atlantic-Richfield Co., 515 South Flower, Los Angeles, CA 90071, Tel: (213) 486-3511; Barber Conable, President, World Bank, 1818 H St. NW, Wash. DC 20433, Tel: (202) 477-1234.

For more information contact the South and Meso-American Indian Information Center (SAIIC), Box 28703, Oakland, CA 94604, (415)834-4263. Please send copies of your letters to SAIIC. □

Taken from a SAIIC Action Alert, Dec. '90





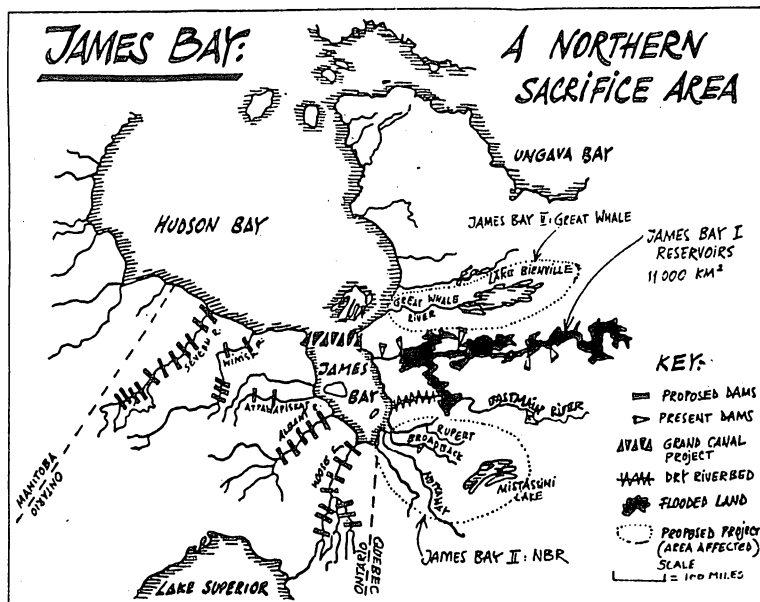
Organizing to Save James Bay

New Englanders Oppose Hydro Power Purchases

Brian Tokar

For many years, safe energy advocates have been promoting hydroelectric power as one of the many renewable alternatives to fossil fuels and nuclear power. However, recent hydroelectric developments in the northern wilderness of Quebec have been so massive and so ecologically destructive that they have become the focus of an international effort to halt these projects. Greens in Vermont have been active in statewide and regional coalitions formed to stop purchases by New England utilities of hydro power from Quebec.

In the 1970's, the provincially-owned utility Hydro-Quebec began exploiting the rivers that flow into James Bay and lower Hudson Bay for hydroelectric power. Six huge dams were built along the Le Grande River in central Quebec, flooding five



What Is James Bay?

What is James Bay? James Bay forms the southern tip of Hudson Bay. This shallow salt water is the largest northern river drainage system. The fresh water from virtually every major river in the heart of the continent flows into James Bay where it mixes with the Bay's salt water over marshy tidal flats to create a vast and diverse ecosystem.

In September 1990, the Canadian National Energy Board (NEB) approved the export of Hydro-Quebec electricity to the U.S. However, the NEB required a federal environmental review of any dam project whose timetable would be accelerated by exports. Hydro-Quebec and the province of Quebec are appealing that important decision. Quebec's Premier, Robert Bourassa, is the most aggressive champion of Hydro-Quebec expansion and thus far, the Canadian government has chosen to ignore federal environmental laws.

thousand square miles of forest land and disrupting an ecosystem the size of all of New England. A major water release from one reservoir in 1984 drowned 10,000 caribou during their annual migration across the diverted Caniapiscau River. The relatively cheap electricity from the project has supported Quebec's aluminum industry, lucrative power sales to the United States and, within Quebec, one of the most wasteful and inefficient energy use patterns in the industrialized world. Now, Hydro-Quebec is planning to dam up all of the remaining major river systems in the James Bay region. Financed largely by power sales to New York and New England, the so-called James Bay II project would flood much of the region's remaining forests, disrupt the hydrology of Hudson Bay, poison the fish, and drive thousands of native Cree and Inuit people from their homes.

The first state to consider power purchases from James Bay II was Maine. Early last year, state regulators in Maine rejected a request by the Central Maine Power Company to buy into the project, as the state's power needs could be met more cheaply and equitably through invest-

ments in energy conservation and efficiency. Vermont was slated to be next, followed by proposed contracts with New York City and State and the regional New England Power Pool, based in Massachusetts.

Last fall, activists in Vermont formed a coalition to oppose power purchases from James Bay. The Vermont Coalition to Save James Bay has brought together Greens, Earth First!ers, native solidarity and peace activists, bioregionalists, mainstream environmentalists and many students. We have petitioned and demonstrated at the state Public Service Board and taken our campaign to fourteen Vermont towns where citizens have the power to vote on their municipally-owned utilities' electricity purchases. In March, we held an organizers' gathering which brought together activists from all over New England, New York, Quebec and Ontario to develop a regional strategy to oppose Hydro-Quebec and support the native people of the James Bay region. An international demonstration at Hydro-Quebec headquarters in Montreal is being

continued on next page

World Uranium Hearings

The earth's last native peoples are being sacrificed to our nuclear power plants.

Uranium, regardless of whether it's targeted for military or peaceful uses, must first be mined from the earth. Over 70% of the world's uranium resources lie buried in lands inhabited by indigenous peoples: in the Canadian Northwest Territories and the provinces of Saskatchewan and Ontario; in the USA, the states of Arizona, New Mexico and South Dakota; in Ecuador and Brazil; in Namibia, South Africa, Niger and Gabon; in China, India, Central Asia, Siberia, and all across Australia. For each ton of uranium oxide yellowcake that reaches the market, between 1000 and 40,000 tons of tailings remain behind as waste. Tailings often hold 85% of the ore's original radioactivity, yet the dumpsites go unprotected. Wind and rain spread the deadly, carcinogenic dust to the surrounding countryside. Around the world, native peoples are meeting slow, agonizing deaths. Wilderness areas, East and West, are undergoing systematic destruction. Still, we speak of nuclear technology's "peaceful" use.

We are the ancestors of the unborn.

Native peoples from all four directions tell us that uranium should stay in the ground, but their voices are lost in the wind. Tribal peoples possess the knowledge of the past that could help heal and restore the earth, but their views are in conflict with the nuclearized, neo-colonial mindset of the multinational energy corporations. The trouble is, we in the West are in possession of the most advanced strain of ignorance the world has ever developed: money. We believe in money. We're not afraid of creating problems. Even if they're radioactive.

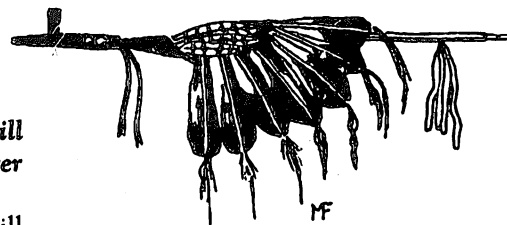
By resisting the repeated incursions of industrial society into their lands, cultures and religions, these peoples have heroically preserved a worldview that cares about the seventh generation to come; a worldview that doesn't give money, at the expense of all living things, the final say.

It's time we listen to the native peoples of the earth. Before corporate wealth, capitalizing on our ignorance, wipes out their cultures. Their wisdom may hold our last chance.

The World Uranium Hearing will see to it that no one can say "I was never told."

"The World Uranium Hearing" will provide the forum for indigenous peoples who have been victimized by our nuclear energy policies—together with those whose lives have been jeopardized by the testing of nuclear weapons—to make their grievances public. In Europe (tentatively in September 1991 either in Prague or in Copenhagen), they will have the attention of the world. Speaking before a renowned "Board of Listeners," their miseries, histories and advice will finally be heard.

The World Uranium Hearing Society has offices in Munich, West Germany, where it was founded by Claus Biegert in December of 1987. Offices have been opened in Canada and the USA. The World Uranium Hearing is a public, nonprofit organization. In some countries, donations are tax deductible. All contributors will receive



updates on the progress that their generosity is helping support.

The World Uranium Hearing, Penta Hotel, Exec Office 7th Ave, & 33rd St. NY, NY 10001-2062 (212)736-5000, X 8706; or PO Box 5058 Gallup, NM 87301 USA (505)778-5737.



Hydro Power

continued from preceding page

planned for late summer or early fall, and a wide variety of educational events are being organized throughout the region.

The James Bay issue is an important one for Greens in the northeast, and throughout the U.S. Ontario Hydro has similar plans for the rivers of northern Ontario, and utilities in Wisconsin and elsewhere have been discussing purchases from those dams. The Quebec government has also been promoting a scheme to seal off James Bay entirely and turn it into a giant reservoir to satisfy U.S. water needs. This is a project of continental proportions with potential environmental and climatic impacts comparable to those from the de-

struction of the Amazon rain forests. It is an environmental issue, a human rights issue, and an economic issue as well, as the billions of dollars that would be exported to Canada to finance James Bay II could go a long way toward promoting energy efficiency and truly sustainable alternatives here at home.

For more information, contact: Vermont Coalition to Save James Bay, c/o Peace and Justice Coalition, 186 College St., Burlington, VT. 05667; Arctic to Amazonia Alliance, P.O. Box 73, Strafford, VT 05072; Catalyst, Box 1308, Montpelier, VT 05602; James Bay Action Team, Box 408 Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276; Northeast Alliance to Protect James Bay, 139 Antrim St., Cambridge, MA. 02139.



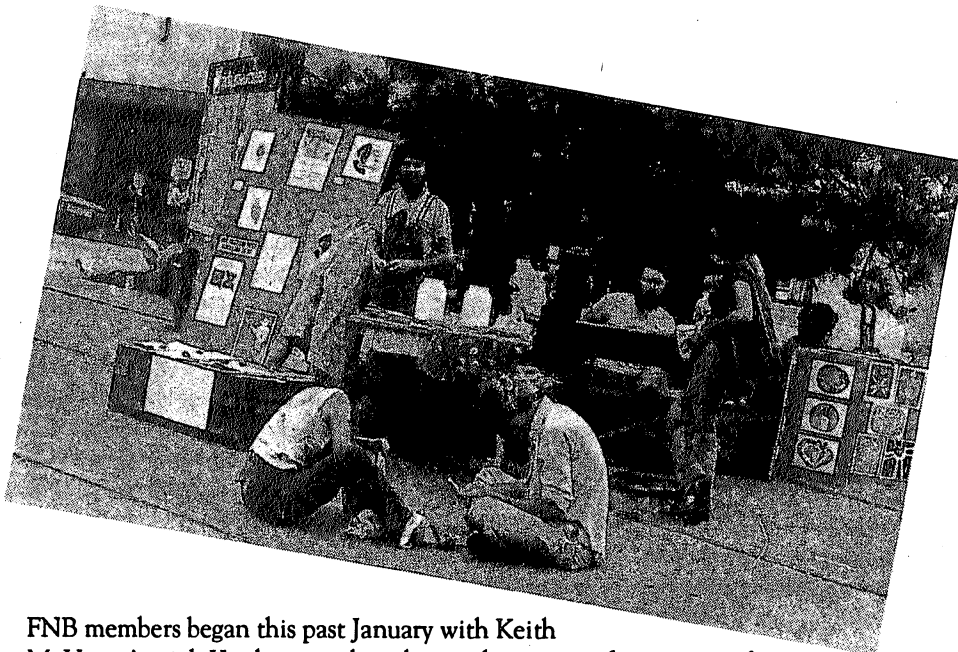
Food Not Bombs

Serving Free Food A Crime?

In 1980, the Cambridge Food Not Bombs started by recycling organic food that would have been discarded and giving it to soup kitchens or creating their own vegetarian meals for homeless and hungry people and for demonstrations against militarism and poverty. Since the beginning the city government has supported their work and advocated that groups give their left over food to Food Not Bombs in order to help relieve the growing problem of hunger and homelessness. Since 1980 twelve independent Food Not Bombs have started up around the country.

Since 1988 Food Not Bombs has been serving free food in San Francisco. Unlike in other cities, SF Food Not Bombs has received constant harassment from the city government. In 1989 a municipal judge, at the request of city attorneys, ordered FNB not to serve without a permit. Soon after this injunction, Food Not Bombs, applied for and received, fire, health, and park use permits. Five months later the city revoked the park use permit, deleting the entire free food distribution section of the park code. Since this time Food Not Bombs members have been repeatedly arrested and have had their food and equipment confiscated.

The city's first attempts at prosecuting



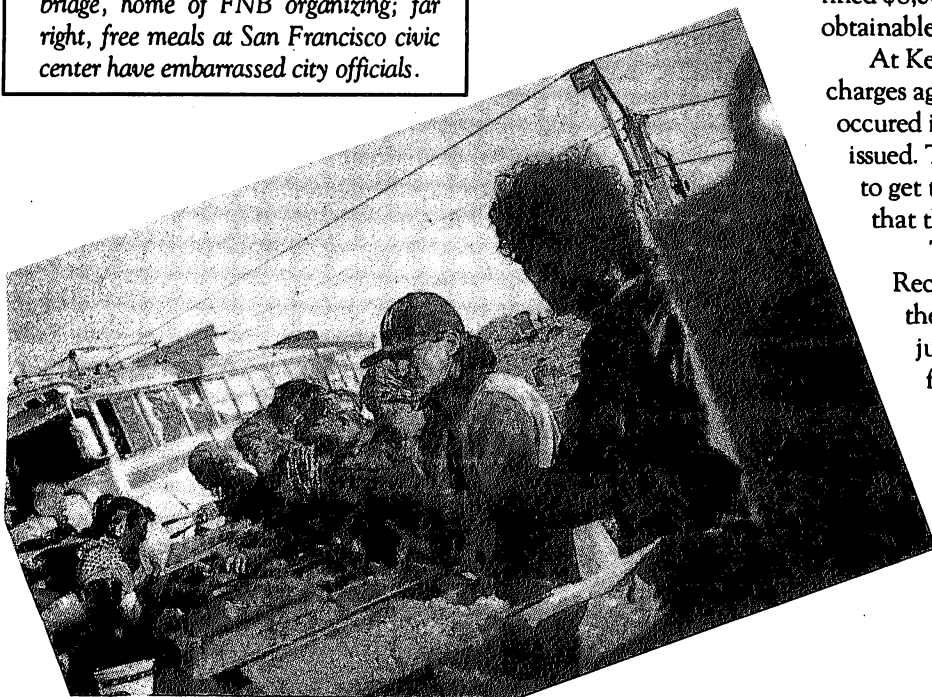
Photos: lower left, members of six FNB chapters met and helped prepare meals for the April Nevada encampment (see page 2); upper center, Cambridge, home of FNB organizing; far right, free meals at San Francisco civic center have embarrassed city officials.

FNB members began this past January with Keith McHenry's trial. Keith was indicted on eight counts of contempt of court for continuing to serve free food in defiance of the year-and-half long court injunction. The city asked that he be sentenced to forty days in jail and fined \$8,000 for failing to have a permit that is no longer obtainable by anyone.

At Keith's trial the judge dropped all contempt charges against Keith because of the changes that had occurred in the permit process after the injunction was issued. The judge further asked FNB to make an effort to get the necessary park use permit and requested that the city respond in a reasonable fashion.

The following Friday FNB sent a letter to the Recreation Department requesting a hearing on the issue of free food distribution permits as the judge had ordered. The commission responded a few days later saying they would not set the matter for discussion at this time.

Sarah Menefee is a second member now on trial. The city is seeking criminal prosecution and asking that she receive six months in jail. At the beginning of the procedures Judge Lilian Tseng offered a pretrial diversion which would require Sarah to "give away food in whatever manner she saw fit." However when Sarah attempted to begin serving



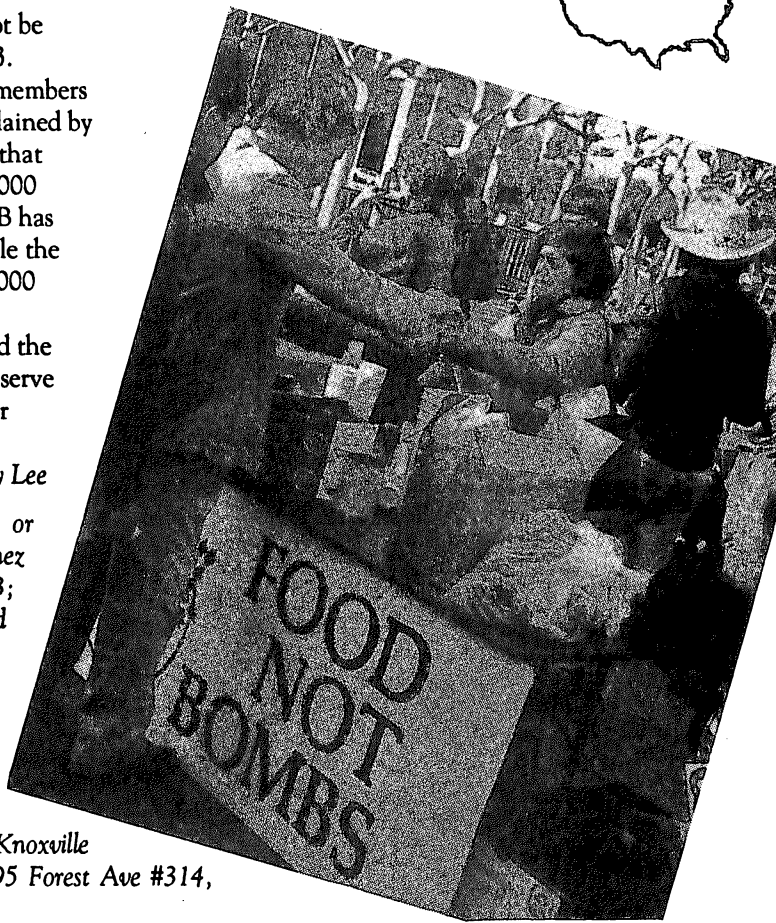
food she was told by the diversion project that FNB would not be acceptable. Sarah then demanded a trial which began May 13.

Since early May there have been nightly arrests of FNB members serving in San Francisco's Civic Center. It remains to be explained by Mayor Agnos why he actively fights the existence of a group that supplies a service that is desperately needed for the 6,000-10,000 homeless in S.F.; virtually every police complaint against FNB has come from the Mayor, making his intolerance apparent. While the Mayor complains of budget cuts he has spent well over \$150,000 arresting and trying members of FNB.

With poverty and homelessness on the rise groups around the country like FNB will become increasingly necessary both to serve the social needs and to unite communities in resistance to our unresponsive government.

Kristy Lee

Contact the FNB in your area: Boston, Eric Weinberger or Karen Dobak (617)864-8786; Long Beach CA, Camille Ortanex (213)433-0937; Minneapolis, Kate Redman (612)823-5173; New York City, Sabotage Bookstore (212)260-4010; Oakland CA Keith Miller (415)644-4187; Portland ME, C.T. Butler (207)828-0401; Sacramento, CA, Matt (916)455-7200; Saint Paul, MN Doug Cripe (612)645-4973; San Francisco, Keith McHenry (415)330-5030; Santa Rosa CA, (707)575-4528; Washington DC, Stuart Morris (301)779-1740. To contact new FNB in Albuquerque NM, Arcata CA, Atlanta, Austin, Bozeman MT, Charlotte NC, Houston, Knoxville TN, Portland OR, and Rockport IL write to: C.T. Butler, 295 Forest Ave #314, Portland ME 04101-2000.



Broadcast Premiere

ABSOLUTELY + POS- ITIVE



Broadcast Premiere Tuesday June 18

Tuesday, June 18, *Absolutely Positive*, premieres on the acclaimed PBS series, *Television with a Point of View*. The U.S. Government estimates that more than a million Americans are infected with HIV and **most of them don't know it!** *Absolutely Positive* is the story of 12 people who do know. It shows the human face behind the cold statistics of the epidemic and provides an unforgettable testament to the strength and endurance of the human spirit. Call your local Public Television Station for exact time and date.



ACT UP's Philip Morris Boycott May be Settled

Boycott Targets Corporate Donations to Jesse Helms

A consumer boycott of the Philip Morris Company, targeting especially Miller Beer and Marlboro cigarettes, may soon be resolved.

Michael Petrelis, a spokesperson for the boycott, said that the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP) hoped to settle its disputes with Philip Morris by early June. The demands include PM making donations to groups working on issues of gay rights and AIDS. Petrelis said he felt that PM wants to make amends for its donations to Jesse Helms with substantial donations to gay and AIDS groups.

In May 1991, a spokesperson for the Washington DC chapter of ACT UP, Margaret Cantrell, wrote an open letter to progressive papers around the country, excerpted here:

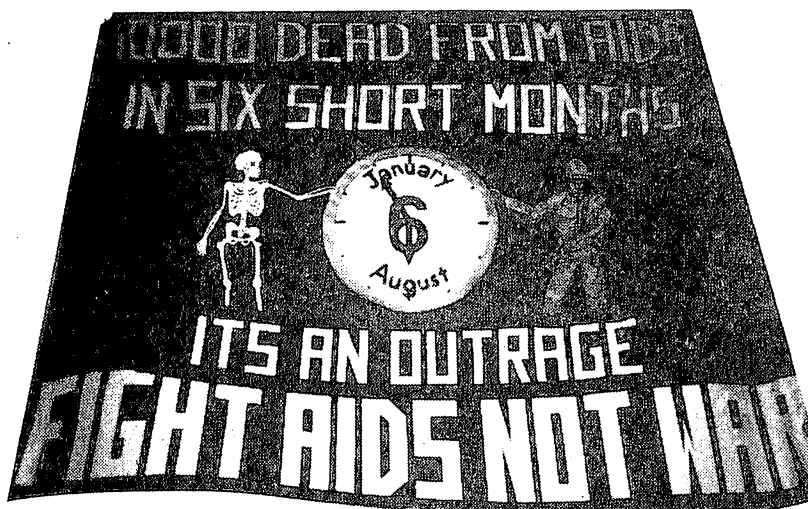
The Miller/Marlboro Boycott Lives

"The Miller/Marlboro boycott is not over! Last year, ACT UP/DC made two demands of Philip Morris. They must stop contributing money to Jesse Helms and renounce their past funding of the senator.

These demands were endorsed almost unanimously by AIDS and gay/lesbian groups around the country and around the

and still destroying our lives.. still spreading his hate and bigotry—and Philip Morris helped put him there.

"There are signs that the boycott is working. Miller's profits fell 54% in the fourth quarter, according to year-end financial reports. The gay/lesbian community has demonstrated our economic clout through this boycott, and corporations are starting to sit up and take notice when we send the message



world. Neither one of these demands has been met.

"Philip Morris has been claiming that the boycott is over, and a few gay organizations have called off their support for the boycott, citing Philip Morris's increased donations to AIDS organizations. [This] doesn't change the central issue and focus of the boycott. Jesse Helms is still in office,

that we won't tolerate the funding of hate mongers like Helms. Now is not the time to let Philip Morris off the hook. We must continue to hold corporations responsible."

For more information on the boycott and the possible settlement, contact Michael Petrelis, (202)543-1070.

Common Threads

Stories from the Quilt

The 1989 Academy Award Winner for Best Feature Documentary: *Common Threads - Stories from the Quilt*, narrated by Dustin Hoffman with original music by Bobby McFerrin, is available on video cassette from The NAMES Project Foundation. Co-produced with Telling Pictures, Inc., the film "shows the human face behind the AIDS epidemic." All profits from *Common Threads* help the NAMES Project continue the important work of displaying and caring for the AIDS Memorial Quilt (an evergrowing quilt that now covers 14 acres) and to support local AIDS service providers. For Visa or MasterCard orders, call toll free: 1-800-USA NAME, (24 hours, 7 days a week) OR mail payment to THE NAMES Project, c/o Merchandise Coordinator, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94114. \$25/cassette; 7.25% sales tax for CA deliveries; shipping \$4 U.S./\$14 1st Class Overseas. For additional information, call (415) 863-1966.

3rd North American Anti-Homophobia Educators Conference

Challenging Oppression: Creating Multicultural Communities, July 5 through 7, 1991. University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Sponsored by the Campaign to End Homophobia and the University of Illinois at Chicago, the conference will focus on providing educational strategies and techniques which can be used to end homophobia and heterosexism and to build coalitions among people of color, gays, lesbians, bisexuals and allies.

For information and registration materials, write to the Campaign to End Homophobia, PO Box 819, Cambridge, MA 02139 or call the Conference telephone in Chicago, (708) 524-2305.



Faith-Based Activists Protest Militarism

Aegean Plowshares, Maine

Easter Sunday, five Plowshares activists entered the Aegean destroyer, recently back from the Persian Gulf, and presently stationed at Bethel Iron Works, Maine. They entered the ship proper at about 4am and for three hours hammered shut the missile turrets, poured their blood from baby bottles into computer keys and over walls, and left handwriting on the walls describing the destructive actions of U.S. military aggression. They also hung large banners from the front deck. At 7am they were discovered and arrested. They have all refused bail and are in jail awaiting trial. For further information write: Jonah House, 1933 Park Ave, Baltimore MD 21217.

Concord Naval Weapons Station, California

On Good Friday, two peace activists were arrested at Concord Naval Weapons Station for trespassing and planting a cross. Easter Sunday a small early morning service left the broken shells of 500 Easter eggs by the nuclear bunker road. Two protesters were arrested for planting fruit trees and strawberry plants at the Port Chicago nuclear weapons bunkers. The vigil at the Port Chicago railroad tracks is approaching the end of its fourth year with a 24 hour presence. Navy harassment continues, and the Navy has recently received \$10 million to build a cement overpass, attempting literally to go over the heads of protestors! Thus your tax dollars are busy at work. For more info call 415-868-1359.

by Sunshine



Faith-based activists gathered on Good Friday to protest and plant lilies and at Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab in California

Keep Up With Student Organizing

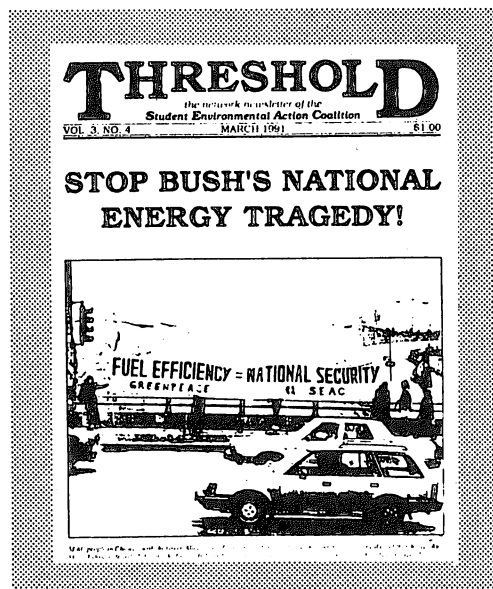
SEAC Newsletter Keeps You In Touch

Threshold is the network newsletter of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC).

Recent features have included Race and Environment, Organizing Skills, National and International Student News, and more.

Individual memberships are \$15 for students/youth, \$35 non-students.

*Contact SEAC for group rates.
SEAC, PO Box 1168, Chapel Hill, NC, 27514-1168.*



Green Business: Hope or Hoax?

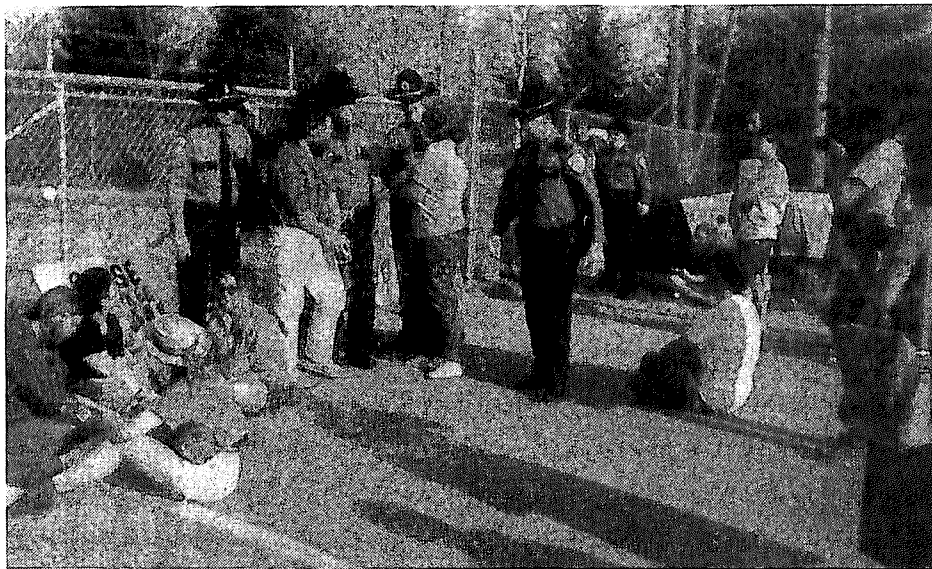
Green Business: Hope or Hoax? Edited by Christopher Plant and Judith Plant. Publishers: New Society Publishers. Part of the New Catalyst Bioregional Series, the book pulls together essays like Brian Tokar's Marketing the Environment, and The Trouble with Earth Day by Kirkpatrick Sale. You'll learn, for example, how closely the major environmental organizations align themselves with some of the country's worst polluters, and how to put green consumerism into perspective.

Helen Posewitz





Northeast Greens Take to the Streets for Earth Week



Civil Disobedience at Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Plant, April 27th

Week of Ecology Action — Earth Day to Chernobyl Anniversary

Despite the post Gulf War climate characterized by a popular tide of chauvinistic nationalism and activist burn-out and depression, Greens pressed ahead with an ambitious schedule of demonstrations in late April.

Earth Day, Monday, April 22 — Earth Day Wall Street Action. In a cold pounding rain, 200 hardy souls — Left Greens, anarchists, independent socialists, radical ecologists — marched on the N.Y. Stock Exchange. 10 were arrested for attempting to blockade access to the Exchange in the morning. At noon, as the rain stopped and the clouds began to break, a spirited rally on the steps of the Wall Street Federal Building heard statements of why activists were targeting Wall Street on Earth Day. The rally heard speakers from Harlem Fight Back, High School Students Against the War, Autonomous Anarchist Action, Malcolm X Coalition to Save the Audobon Ballroom, Left Green Network, and many others. The rally concluded with a march to the Borough of Manhattan CUNY campus to express solidarity with the students resisting tuition hikes.

Earth Day, Monday, April 22 — Dem-

onstration Against Corporate Greed. Meanwhile, the New York State Greens kicked off their week of actions with a demonstration at General Electric in Waterford, New York, targeting GE's role in nuclear weapons production, dumping PCBs in the Hudson River, and the proposed Interpower Coal Plant in the Albany area. TV coverage of the 35 demonstrators and their signs in the pouring rain was excellent and the papers featured the demonstration.

Earth Day, Monday, April 22 — Demonstration Against Maine Yankee Nuke. Greens joined the Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee and Neighbors United to End Nuclear Dumps to celebrate Earth Day with a "funeral" for the Maine Yankee nuclear power plant. The 35 demonstrators weathered a cold rain and almost got their wish a week later when an electrical fire caused a hydrogen explosion and oil spillage, shutting the plant down for several months.

Wednesday, April 24 — Protest at the Albany ANSWERS Garbage Incinerator. 65 Greens came out and once again received great TV and press coverage.

Friday, April 26 — Chernobyl Anniversary Actions. Greens were involved in demonstrations at the Knolls Atomic Pow-

er Labs in Saratoga Springs, New York and the Watts Bar Nuke Plant in Tennessee. In Boston they participated in a Children of Chernobyl event.

Saturday, April 27 — Chernobyl Anniversary Action in Vermont. 125 people rallied in Brattleboro, Vermont and then marched 7 miles to the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant, where 6 people were arrested for civil disobedience. The Vermont and Massachusetts Chernobyl Anniversary Actions were sponsored by the Don't Waste New England Coalition consisting of the New England Green Alliance, Clamshell Alliance, Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, and eight other anti-nuclear groups.

Sunday, April 28 — Chernobyl Anniversary Action in Massachusetts. 200 people marched 5 miles from the Statue of Massasoit in Plymouth to the Pilgrim nuclear power plant, where a rally was held and then 11 people, 7 of them Greens, committed civil disobedience.

Sunday, April 28 — Green Earth Week Festival. The week of actions and good press coverage paid off for the Capital District Greens and the New York State Greens when 5000 people turned out for their Green Earth Week Festival. Speakers and music highlighted the issues of nuclear power on the 5th anniversary of Chernobyl, James Bay/Hydro-Quebec, animal rights, peace, social justice, and environmental protection.

Monday, April 29 — Anti Hydro-Quebec Demonstration. Vermont Greens joined the Vermont Coalition to Save James Bay in a demonstration in Montpelier. 100 demonstrators marched from the capital building to the city offices where the Vermont Public Service Board was discussing Vermont's contract with Hydro-Quebec. Vermont still has seven months to cancel the contract without financial penalty. The demonstrators marched into city hall with a thunderous chant of "Conservation, Yes! Hydro-Quebec, No!" forcing the

continued on page 27

Common Agenda: National Coalition Forms Around Social Issues



Common Agenda is a nationwide coalition made up of labor and environmentalists, groups working on education, housing, health care, AIDS, childcare, social

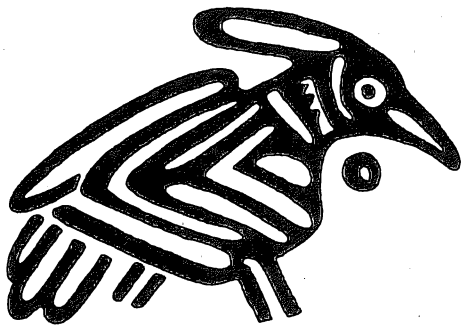
service providers, religious communities, small businesses and local governments. They have come together in response to developments of the past decade, during which federal social programs were cut by one-third to fund the largest peacetime military build up in our history while homelessness, environmental degradation, infant mortality, and other social problems got worse.

The coalition's goal is to cut the military budget by 50% and use the money to fund programs that will meet human and environmental needs and rights. They support economic conversion to create an economy based on nonmilitary production with the goal of employment for everyone

at a decent wage.

On February 5, the day after President Bush presented his national budget, 150 grassroots groups held press conferences across the country, introducing the Common Agenda coalition to the public as an effective way to make a change. Their research committees have released budgets of cities around the country showing how their tax dollars are being spent and mis-spent.

For more info regarding Common Agenda please contact their national office: 76 Summer St., Boston, Massachusetts 12110, phone: (617) 338-5783.



Northeast Greens

continued from page 26

Board to adjourn. The demonstrators then marched through the streets of Montpelier, leafletting cars during the rush hour. The Board did not make a final decision on the contract.

Upcoming Activities

Greens in Holyoke, Massachusetts are involved in an independent Puerto Rican campaign for city council and school board offices in the November election.

The **Vermont Greens** are gearing up to fight another bipartisan Democratic and Republican attempt to increase the governor's term of office from two to four years. The Greens plan to take the issue to every one of Vermont's 285 townships in a "road show" that will not only argue for keeping the two year term, but for expanding democracy in Vermont to include home rule for municipalities, a devolution of central state powers to county municipal confederations, and economic democracy in the form of cooperative and decentralized public enterprise.

The **Greater New Bedford Greens** in Massachusetts and the **Capital District Greens** in New York are resisting plans for new coal-fired electric generation plants.

Given the activist energy now going into the struggle against the Hydro-Quebec James Bay project, the new coal-fired plants, the continuing anti-nuclear struggle — together with the regionalization of utility ownership and control that bypasses state regulation as well as the pro-nuke, pro-fossil fuel, anti-democratic nature of the Bush/Sununu energy plan — the **New England Green Alliance** is proposing that all Greens in the Northeast work together in building a broad coalition with a clear

program, strategy, and joint planning of actions to move us toward the efficient use of renewable energy under democratic public ownership and control.

New Green Growth in Maine, Massachusetts, and New York

Many new Green locals have sprouted in the past six to nine months in three states which had been plugging along with only two or three locals for several years. Maine, Massachusetts, and New York have grown from three to ten or more locals. Maine already had a statewide organization. New York has organized two conferences and several coordinating council meetings since September. Massachusetts is in the process of planning a statewide conference and organization.

Regional Contacts

New England Green Alliance, POB 703, White River Jct. VT 05001, (802) 295-1544.

New England Committees of Correspondence, 2 Florence St., Roslindale MA 02131, (617) 327-1638.

New York State Greens, RD 1 Box 1024, Poestenkill NY 12140, (518) 283-6512.

Howie Hawkins





Corporations Versus the Workers

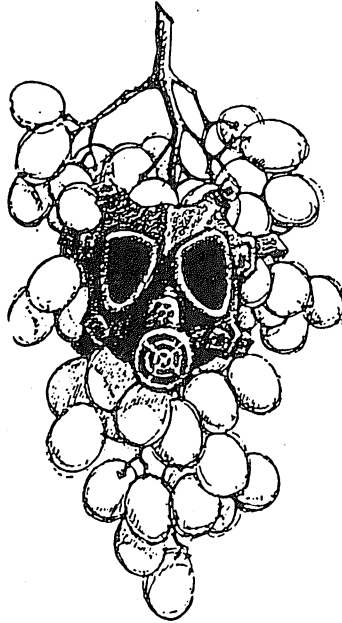
National Boycotts Highlight Corporate Injustice

Green Giant

In May 1990, Grand Metropolitan announced from its London Headquarters that its subsidiary Green Giant plant was terminating 400 workers (some with 20 years service) in Watsonville, California, and move the jobs to Irapuato, Mexico, where they pay workers \$4 a day. The plant closure is not due to unprofitability or nonproductiveness, but only to the search for greater profits. There is concern over the unregulated use of pesticides and use of contaminated water in Mexico that will have ill effect on consumers on both sides of the borders. Land once used by local people for corn and beans now will be used for export-only crops like broccoli and cauliflower to feed the factory. CONTACT: Teamsters Local 912, 434 Main St #222, Watsonville, CA 95076. (408) 722-9803.

Levi Strauss

In April 1990, Levi Strauss and Company closed a plant in San Antonio, Texas



that left 1100 workers without jobs. A group of those women formed Fuerza Unida, to lead a boycott against Levis. They point out that the company has moved operations from the United States to Third World countries due to the low wages and benefits they can pay there. In 1989, the

company showed record profits of \$272.3 million. FU has filed suit against Levis for allegedly using workers' retirement funds in a leveraged buyout deal. CONTACT: Fuerzo Unida, PO BOX 830083, San Antonio, TX, 78283-0083. (512) 299-2666.

United Farm Workers

The current grape boycott by the United Farmworkers of America comes from grapegrowers' refusal to consider a ban on five specific pesticides, to ensure that any replacement pesticides would be safe, and to cease interfering with union activities. The UFW has documentation showing excessive cancer rates in some farm communities. The UFW has requested that supermarkets cooperate, or at least remain neutral and not advertise or promote grapes. The Safeway and Vons megachains have refused to do anything, so UFW is asking their supporters to boycott these stores for this reason. CONTACT: Boycott Dept, UFW, PO BOX 62, Keene, CA 93531. (805) 822-5571.

Jim Hildreth



Artist working to transform holograms from 3-D novelty to serious aesthetic medium

Tennessee is women's NCAA champ



Kansas, Duke set for men's final

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

MONDAY MORNING

APRIL 1, 1991

35 CEN.

WE LIE

For your own good...

War reporting called 'inadequate'

by L.F. Shores
Pittsburgh Courier

Journalists have around the world have shirked their responsibility according to news critics posted this week as New York, Seattle, and other international centers.



Gulf casualties estimated at over 100,000

Figures reported by the International Red Cross and affiliates in March last estimate well over 100,000 killed in the Gulf. The Iraq Red Crescent reports the war's impact on the dead, wounded, and long prisoners, with an estimated 50 per cent of the war's victims. The terrible consequences of the conflict have been discussed in correspondence to the region, available reports from the Iraq media and the U.S. government's statements of casualties in the area.

Life goes on, and Americans are thinking about vacations again.

Seattle activists posted 3000 copies of an all-too-true "false front" for their local newspaper, the Post-Intelligencer, as part of a series of April Fools actions. More pictures on pages 30-31. Thanks to Dana Schuerholz for the artwork.

Protect the Earth Festival in Wisconsin

Protect the Earth Festival, Labor Day Weekend, Lac Courte Oreilles, Chippewa Reservation, Northern Wisconsin. Help the Chippewa help you stop the mining. For more information write WOJB Radio, Rt 2, Haywood, WI., 54843 or call (715)634-2100.

Correction

In our synopsis of national resistance actions last issue, we incorrectly reported that there were 100 arrests per week in Tallahassee, Florida. The Tallahassee Peace Coalition informs us that there were 50-100 people present at their weekly vigils, but no arrests. Thanks to the Peace Center for this information.



International Protest at Nevada Test Site

continued from page 2

nuclear testing. Then, led by and at the invitation of the Western Shoshone, 350 people trespassed onto the test site and were arrested, held in large pens, transported 80 miles to Beatty, given citations and released.

The Thursday morning before, over 66 people had been arrested on U.S. highway 95 in a road blockade aimed at deny-

Test Ban Treaty.

Despite the nuclear test, the peace encampment helped strengthen the international movement for an end to nuclear testing. The Native Americans shared wisdom that voiced concern for the sacred and living earth and empowered us in our thoughts and actions. The international delegation connected us to a world-wide anti-nuclear movement and reminded us

The PEIS hearings will give concerned citizens the opportunity to comment on: risks to health, safety and the environment from nuclear weapons design, testing and production; the so-called need to produce more weapons-grade nuclear materials; and the relationship between renewed nuclear weapons production and the management of existing and future toxic and radioactive wastes. Call the local DOE office ahead of time to get time on the agenda. Anyone who wants to speak and/or submit written comments should be allowed to, and will go into the official record.

It is important that anyone with access to these hearings show up and present the DOE with safe alternatives to another costly round of nuclear weapons development and testing. Let the DOE know that a test ban should be at the top of its agenda. Hearings will be held in the following cities:

June 5 Las Vegas, NV
June 12 Washington, D.C.
July 10 Columbia, SC
July 17 Idaho Falls, ID
July 24 Amarillo, TX
July 31 Richland, WA
August 21 Atlanta, GA
August 28 Oak Ridge, TN

For general information on the PEIS hearings and how you can participate, contact:

PEIS Task Force
1350 New York Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 624-9351

For Nevada PEIS hearing:
American Peace Test
PO Box 26725
Las Vegas, NV 89126
(702) 386-9834

If you're interested in representing your affinity group or working group in helping to plan American Peace Test's activities for the next year, please come to the Body of the Whole meeting at the Ben Lomond Center in the Santa Cruz mountains of California. Contact the Las Vegas APT office for info.



ing workers entrance to the test site hours before a scheduled 9am nuclear test. The protesters succeeded in blocking the road for nearly an hour and the test was delayed for two hours. The Department of Energy (DOE) issued a statement saying the test had been delayed because of "adverse weather conditions."

The test, code named Bexar, was the second U.S. nuclear test of 1991 and had a yield of between 20 and 150 kilotons. The USSR has been abiding by a unilateral nuclear testing moratorium. As a matter of fact, the U.S. is the only country that has tested nuclear weapons this year! The U.S. government is the major obstacle to achieving what for decades has been known to be the best first step toward nuclear disarmament: a Comprehensive

of other nuclear test sites hidden from public view. We will be back and the message will be stronger than ever!

The Next Step

The next opportunity to advance the nuclear test ban campaign in the U.S. is at the series of Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement (PEIS) hearings being held by the Department of Energy this spring and summer on the future of the DOE weapons production complex. The DOE's purpose for the hearings is to focus on cleanup options at the nation's aging and polluted weapons facilities and formulate a plan for "modernization" of those facilities. The DOE's plans include nuclear weapons research, testing, and development for the next 60 years!

ART &



Seattle activists wheatpasted handcrafted posters around downtown Seattle the night before April Fools Day. Another action that night involved planting dozens of crosses labelled "AIDS Research," "Health Care," etc in the median strip of an urban highway. This educational artpiece backed up traffic as motorists slowed down to read the crosses. See also the false-front to a Seattle newspaper, page 28. Photos by Dana Schuerholz.



Christian protesters at Livermore Weapons Lab bear homemade crosses and a mock nuclear missile as they blockade the entrance to the Lab. Photo by Ted Sahl.

More Art & Resistance Photos on Page 3

Art & Resistance pages co-ordinated by George Franklin

We Want Art & Resistance Photos!

Get your picture in Green Letter the easy way! We're looking for unposed shots of people doing colorful art actions. We'll return the photos, and will consider paying postage and printing if you contact us in advance. Write to "Art & Resistance," Green Letter, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114.

RESISTANCE



Antiwar protesters in Oakland, California staged a theatre piece with ritual wailing and flag-washing. "We used colored paints to write on the white stripes of the flags whatever we felt needed to be cleansed. Then, forming a circle again, we moved slowly around the big washtub...As each one felt the need, he or she took a flag from the dirt and kneeled in the circle and, supported by the chanting and wailing, scrubbed and wrung the flag in the soapy water which was deep red..."

Photos by Catherine Allport.



A Spiral Dance helps release the pent up tensions at the end of a street demo—and continues to shut the street. Note the audience of cops in the background. Photo by Catherine Allport.



The bottom line—Art as an attitude, not a product. Photo by Jil.

500 Years of Resistance and Dignity: A Resource Guide

"500 Years is Enough" Project, American Friends Service Committee Third World Coalition, Friends Center, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia PA 19102; (215) 241-7178. Network dedicated to providing resources for community organizers, including: a *Land Rights Reader*; a pamphlet highlighting Third World struggles in relation to 1992; support for organizing resistance actions in Third World communities; promoting youth involvement.

1990 Northwest Mexico Ceremonial Gathering, Box 2571, Taos, NM. 87571. Contact: Edmond Faubert. In 1992, at the same time thousands of public events take place in the Americas to celebrate the European conquest of the western hemisphere, these spiritual gatherings will continue to provide an opportunity for all Native people to reflect upon and create responses to this important time in history.

1992 Alliance, c/o Rick Hill, Institute of American Indian Arts Museum, Santa Fe, NM 87504(505) 988-6281. Presents an Indian response to the Quincentennial, and attempts to build a united effort to give Indian peoples a larger role in the evolution of the earth. They publish *Native Nations Magazine* 175 5th Avenue, Suite 2245, New York, NY 10010.

Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, PO Box 196, Rooseveltown, NY 13683-0196; (518)358-9531. Canada (613) 575-2063. Six issues/year. Cost: U.S. \$15, Canada and Mexico \$18, Foreign \$20. An excellent quarterly on Native American affairs.

Alliance for Cultural Democracy (ACD), P.O. Box 7591, Minneapolis, MN, 55407. Ask for *Huracán*, a quarterly newspaper of ACD's Quincentennial Project.

American Indian Law and Policy Center, Univ. of Oklahoma-College of Law, 300 Timberland Road, Norman, OK 73019.

Contact: Rennard Strickland or Jacki Rand. A June 1992 conference is being organized out of the U of O, Norman to assemble a Council of Emerging Leaders/ includes a focus on multigenerational issues.

Americans for Indian Opportunity, 3508 Garfield St. NW, Washington DC, 20007. Contact: Ladonna Harris. AIO is planning a gathering for 1991 to take place in Indianapolis.

Amazon Nations Network, 10009 Blue Coat Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030. Support group for Wauja and other indigenous peoples in Brazilian rainforest. Looking for college and community groups to sponsor substantive discussions about Columbus's impact on indigenous peoples and the environment with Wauja chief Atamai during his U.S. tour in 1991.

America Discovers America, "It's time to end the fight, welcome all here to consider it home so that we all will begin to love it."—Walt Bresette. Contact: James Yellowbank: Resource Co. Management Team ITRC, 59 E. Van Buren #2418 Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 663-5396

American Indian Community House, 404 Lafayette St., N.Y.C., NY 10003; (212) 598-0100. Clearinghouse and resource center on Native American issues. Call for information about programs, speakers, and materials.

American Indian Program, Contact: Carol Cornelius, 300 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853; (607) 255-6587. Excellent program guides and curriculum packages for teachers.

Artists/Environment Forum, 602 Manning Ave, Toronto, Ontario, M6G 2V9 Canada. Contact: Danny Beaton. The Artists/Environment Forum is bringing a unique program to school children across Ontario known as "Project Indigenous Restoration." The goal is to establish a partnership of learning between

Natives and non-Natives, gain a greater closeness with the earth, and prioritize the motive of healing Mother Earth.

Assembly of First Nations, 47 Clarence St. 3rd Floor, Atrium Bldg. Ottawa, Ontario K9N 9K1 CANADA. Contact: Elizabeth J. Thunder.

ATLATL, 402 W. Roosevelt, Phoenix, AZ. 85003. Contact: Alyce Sadongie. ATLATL is a national Indian arts service organization. In conjunction with the Submuloc Society, twenty-five mid-western Native artists are producing a major symposium on contemporary performance art, conceptual art, poetry, slides, collaborations and installations in video. This is a travelling exhibition, accompanied by a catalogue, to portray an alternative view to the Quincentenary jubilee.

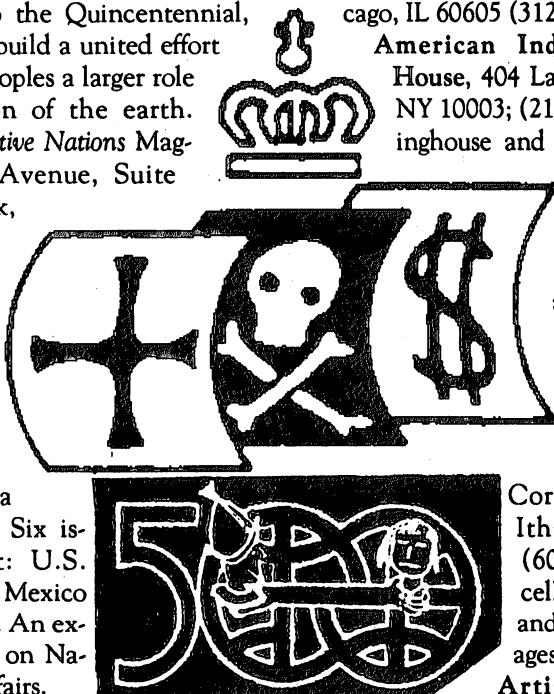
Boston Indian Council, 105 South Huntington, Boston MA. 02130. Contact: Bruce Oakes. The Boston Indian Council is one of the northeastern networks involved in planning towards 1992. They are arranging for a conference October 3-9, 1992. Will include an international pow wow.

Canadian Alliance in Solidarity With Native Peoples, P.O. Box 574, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1 Canada. Send \$19.95 for a copy of Resource Reading List 1990, which helps educators in Canada and the U.S. by describing films, periodicals, publishers, distributors, language books, and other resource materials related to Native peoples.

Clergy and Laity Concerned, PO Box 1987, Decatur, GA 30031; (404) 377-1983. Request *CALC Report*, Vol. XV No. 3, and send \$5 for a packet of Columbus-related materials from diverse viewpoints.

Coalition 1992 (Montreal), is an alliance of 22 Canadian groups, formed to tell the "other side" of the Columbus story. Literature available in French only.

Columbus in Context/CALC, 19 Broadway Suite 305, New York, NY 10038. CIC serves as an international conduit for progressive Quincentenary activities. Education Workgroup meets monthly in New York City to develop alternative approaches to



teaching Columbus. Speakers available. Send \$10 to be put on mailing list. **Committee for American Indian History**, c/o Jan Elliott, 6802 SW 13th St., Gainesville, FL 32608; (904) 378-3246. CAIH Board (includes Paula Gunn Allen, Noam Chomsky, Ward Churchill) is developing strategy and tactics to combat the continuing distortion of the People's history. Publishers of *Indigenous Thought*, a monthly newsletter with special focus on Quincentennial issues from Native American perspective.

Honor, 2647 N. Stowell Ave. Milwaukee, WI 53211. Coalition of mainstream churches working on solidarity and Quincentenary issues.

Indigenous Communications Resource Center (ICRC), 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853. A leading source of information on the activities being planned for 1992.

Indio-Innu 1492-1992, Contact: Gilbert Pilot, PO Box 800, 1089 Dequen, Sept-Îles, Quebec, G4R 4L9 Canada. Organizing an international meeting of Native Peoples and their supporters on Peace and the Environment. This meeting is to reflect on the forced co-existence of the Native people and non-Natives and look toward the next 500 years in the spirit of peace and protection of the environment. Organizers are encouraging all Native peoples everywhere to drum or play their traditional instruments for one hour at 12 o'clock noon on October 12, 1992.

Indigenous Women's Network, National Office, PO Box 174, Lake Elmo, MN. 55042. Contact: Winona LaDuke.

Midwest Treaty Network, c/o Witness for Nonviolence, 3026 N. 38th St., Milwaukee, WI 53210.

National Assembly of Religious Women, 529 South Wabash #404, Chicago IL 60605 (312) 663-1980. Their 1992 National Conference is devoted to countering the Columbus myth and creating justice.

National Council of Churches of Christ, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115. Write for their resolution, "A Faithful Response to the 500th Anniversary of the Arrival of Christopher Columbus"—a key resource for those organizing in communities of faith.

Native American Council of New York City on 1992, 404 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10003; (212) 598-0100. Leading

Native American organization, under guidance of traditional Elders. Call for information on speakers, programs, media activities, materials.

NativeNet, A Computer-based telecommunications network providing information and opportunity for discussion on issues relating to indigenous people of the world. Contact: Gary Trujillo,

43 Jackson Rd, Somerville MA 02145 (617) 776-0121. Peacenet: gtrujillo. Internet: gst@gnosys.svle.ma.us (you can use internal address through peacenet).

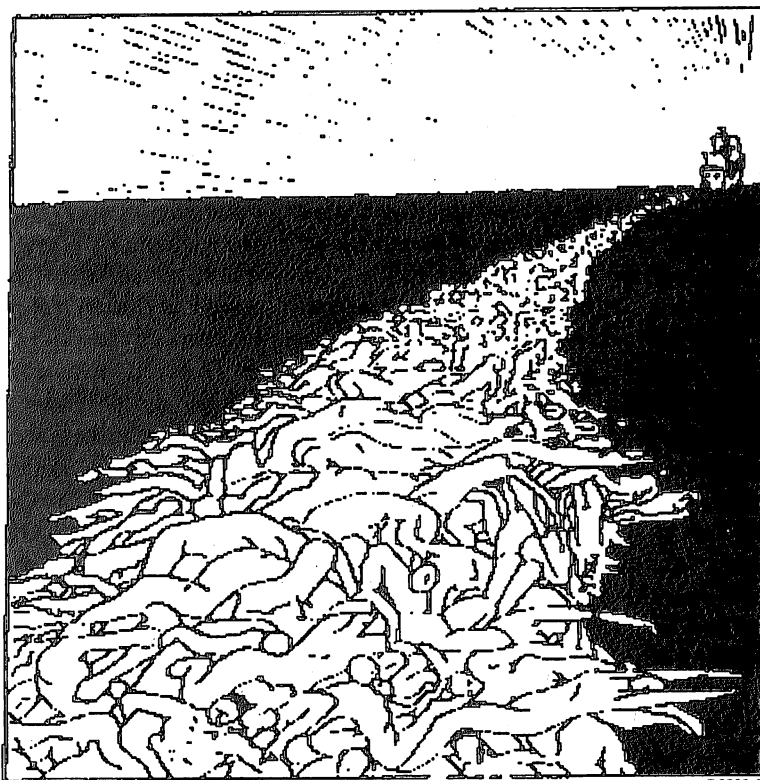
News from Indian Country, Rt. 2, Box 2900-A, Hayward, WI 54843. Excellent newspaper on regional, national and international Native news.

North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), 475 Riverside Dr. #454, N.Y.C., NY 10115; (212) 870-3146. Six NACLA reports in 1991, for use throughout 1992, covers themes reflecting the past 500 years in Latin America. First issue January, 1991.

Northeast Indian Quarterly, Published by the Cornell University Indian Program, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853. They recently put out a 1992 Resource Directory entitled, "View From the Shore, American Indian Perspectives on the Quincentenary."

Re-View 1492-1992, PO Box 801, N.Y.C., NY 10009. A bilingual (English/Spanish) newsletter including articles, updates, and resources from all over the country and world. Excellent resource for activist teachers and parents.

San Francisco Bay Area Regional 1992 Alliance, c/o Intertribal Friendship House, 523 East 14th Street, Oakland, CA. 94606. A coalition of Bay Area Native American organizations addressing issues



regarding first contact and the subsequent invasion of the hemisphere.

Seminole Tribe of Florida, 6073 Stirling Road, Hollywood, FL 33024. Contact: James A. Jumper. The Seminole Tribe is proposing to rally together to stage a grand pow-wow during the summer of 1992 to celebrate the significant Native participation in the development of this country.

South and Meso-American Indian Information Center (SAIIC), PO Box 7550, Berkeley, CA 94707; (415) 834-4263. Bridge between North and South; co-sponsor of "First Continental Meeting of Indigenous Peoples—500 Years of Indian Resistance" (Quito, Ecuador 1990). *Declaration of Quito* conference resolution is available.

Traditional Circle of Native American Elders, c/o American Indian Institute, PO Box 1388, Bozeman, MT 59715. Supporters of Native American Alliance, a leading Native American voice on spiritual, environmental and other 1992-related issues.

Traditional Elders' Circle, Onondaga Nation, PO Box 200, via Nedrow, NY. 13120. Contact: Oren R. Lyons.

United Nations-Center For Human Rights, Palais de Nations, Room D416, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. Contact: Erica Daes or Gudmundur Alfredsson. For the true story of the conquest and to establish a dialogue to promote initiatives ad-

vancing the claims of indigenous peoples and their rights to cultural and economic survival, the United Nations will decide in a General Assembly on declaring 1993 International Year for Indigenous Peoples of the World. That decision will take place this October or November. Inquiries can be made to the UN Human Rights Liaison office in New York (212) 963-5930.

Mexico contact for activities emerging from Quito Conference: Yolanda Hernández Esteban, Consejo Central de Hidalgo, la Cerrada de Independencia #3, Barrio de Jesús, Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, CP42300 México.

Resource Material

♣ Elliott, Jan, *A Review of First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the US, 1492-1570*: critiques the bias in federal government-funded Museum of Natural History Exhibits touring the country 1990-1992. Available from the Committee for American Indian History.

♣ "Columbus and the Origins of Racism in the Americas," in *Fulcrums of Change*, 1988. \$9.95 from Africa World Press, PO Box 1892, Trenton, NY 08607.

♣ Brand, Johanna, *The Life and Death of Annie Mae Aquash*. Toronto, James Lorimer & Co., 1978, 171 pp. The life of this woman of spirit and her years of resistance need to be more widely known.

♣ *Basic Call to Consciousness*, Akwesasne Notes. Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelt Town, New York, 1978. This book includes history of the self governance of the Iroquois which had a deep influence on the writers of the U.S. constitution. It also challenges many basic assumptions in western philosophy.

♣ Churchill, Ward and Vander Wall, Jim, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, Boston, South End Press, 1988.

♣ Columbus, Christopher, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus* (translated by Cecil Jane). New York, Outlet Book Company c/o Crown Publishing Company, 225 Park Ave. S., NY, NY 10003; (800) 526-4264. Original source material from Columbus.

♣ John Curl, *Columbus in the Bay of Pigs*. Homeward Press, PO Box 2307, Berkeley, CA 94702. A poem which draws the philosophical and historical connections between first contact to imperial policy today in its suppression of indigenous revolutionary movements (booklet: \$5).

♣ Deloria Jr., Vine and Lytle, Clifford, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. New York, Pantheon Books, 1984.

♣ Drinnon, Richard, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building*. Schocken Books, 1990

♣ Galeano, Eduardo, *Memory of Fire*. (Three volumes: *Genesis*; *Faces and Masks*; *Century of the Wind*.) New York, Pantheon Books (201 E. 50th St., NY, NY 10022; (800) 638-6460. 1988. \$11.95/volume. Also in Spanish. A passionate, documentary history from the first human inhabitants to 1984.

♣ Horne, Gerald, *Thinking and Rethinking US History*, New York, Council on Interracial Books for Children (1841 Broadway #608, NY NY 10023; (212) 757-5339. \$16.96). Teachers' edition. Perhaps the most thorough and outstanding critique of the race, class, gender and cultural bias in US history textbooks; includes reading list.

♣ Johansen, Bruce and Maestas, Roberto, *Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars*. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979.

♣ Matthiessen, Peter, *In The Spirit of Crazy Horse*. New York, The Viking Press, 1983.

♣ Ortiz, Simon, *The People Shall Continue*, Children's Book Press, San Francisco: (1461 Ninth Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122; (415) 664-8500. An excellent story which movingly describes the history of Native people in North America. Third grade/up.

♣ Parlow, Anita, *Cry, Sacred Ground: Big Mountain USA*, Washington, DC, Christic Institute, 1988.

♣ *Resistance 500!* is an inspiring new organizing video produced in cooperation with indigenous and green activists from around the world. It covers national and international plans for 1992 and comes with a

copy of the 1992 Resistance 500 Organizers Handbook. To order, send \$15.50 sliding scale to SAIIC-Resistance 500! 2215-R Market St #464A, S.F., CA, 94114.

♣ *Rethinking Schools, Rethinking Columbus: An Educator's Guide to the 500th Year Anniversary*, (1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee WI 53212; (414) 964-9646. Includes bibliography, articles, resources.

♣ Sale, Kirkpatrick, *Columbus: The Conquest of Paradise*, Knopf. Links Columbus' legacy to environmental degradation and loss of "place."

♣ Slapin, Beverly and Seale, Doris, *Through Indian Eyes: The Native Experience in Books for Children*. Includes essays, poetry and stories by Native writers. Thorough, passionate critique of bias in educational materials. Extensive bibliography. New Society Publishers, 1991.

♣ Turner, Frederick, *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness*, New York, Viking Press, c/o Penguin (PO Box 120, Bergenfield, NJ 07621; 800-526-0275), 1980. Effect of Columbus and his followers on the land and peoples of the Americas.

♣ Van Sertima, Ivan, *They Came Before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America*. New York, Random House, 201 E. 50th St., NY NY 10017; (212) 751-2600. 1976.

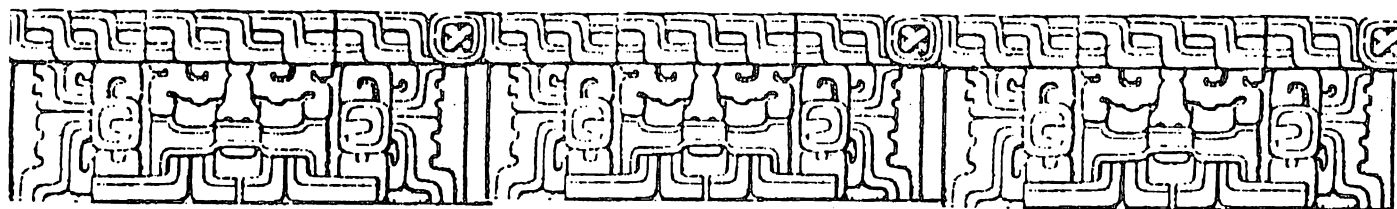
Turtle Island Bioregional Congress
Rainbow People's Committee

The above resource list was compiled for Bioregionalists, who resolved in their last Continental Congress (Maine, 1990) to join in organizing around 1992 Quincentennial.

The original list was compiled by Marie Bloom for TIBC Rainbow Peoples' Committee, 12/11/90, with support from New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, Santa Cruz and Gabriola Island, BC; graphics from SAIIC Newsletter, Fall 1989/ Winter 1990. More extensive bibliographies available from Marie at New Society Publishers, 4527 Springfield Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143.

Green Letter updated and edited this list with the help of Roberto Mendoza, SAIIC, Dennis Jennings, Tim Modok, and Eli Rosenblatt.

Please copy and distribute this resource list.





Global Green Networking

International Working Group

We are writing to update and invite you to join in building a global Green network.

The International Working Group/IWG was formed by the U.S. Green Committees of Correspondence/GCoC Interregional Committee at the conclusion of the Eugene Conference in the summer of 1989. Since the Eugene Conference, we have discovered that a myriad of Green groups and like-minded organizations are interested in establishing an effective Green global network. Green and bioregional organizations around the world are being born, and there arises a need to weave many webs among them.

The IWG has endeavored to foster communication and disseminate information across traditional geopolitical borders. Already faced with an escalating demand for its networking services, the IWG needs your help if it is to become more effective in this

important work.

The IWG is based in San Francisco and holds monthly planning meetings at Earth Island Institute. Since it is impossible for all interested Greens to attend our meetings, an IWG account has been opened on EcoNet (account name: greeniwg). In addition, the IWG welcomes comments and recommendations via mail, fax, or phone. IWG participation from every

region is essential if our goals are to be fulfilled.

The IWG plan of action is in progress. The following are areas that we are attempting to address:

- * Exchange information on visits by Green and bioregional delegations from abroad and visa versa.

- * Help arrange for U.S. Green representatives to attend international events.

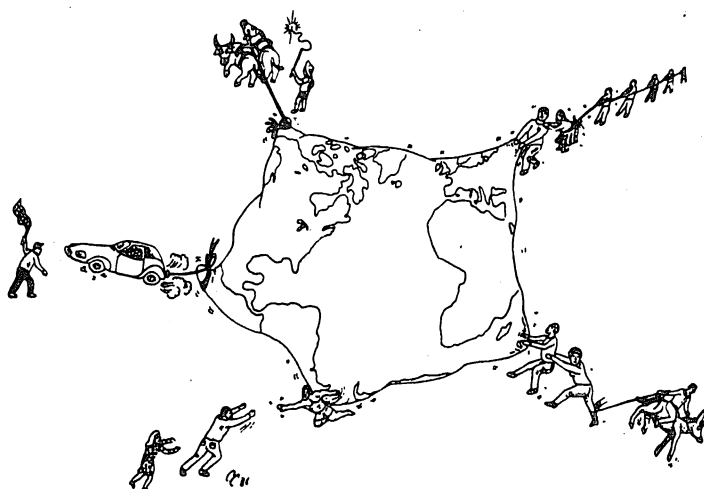
- * Disseminate information about the U.S. Greens and the Turtle Island Bioregional Congress to organizations outside the U.S.

- * Respond to or redirect to U.S. Green chapters all international correspondence addressed to the GCoC Clearinghouse.

- * Educate the U.S. media to increase coverage of global Green issues and organizing efforts.

- * Compile a database of international Green, bioregional, and like-minded ac-

continued on page 58



YES! I would like to help the International Working Group of the U.S. Greens

Name:

☐ Volunteer at the San Francisco office

Address:

☐ Volunteer from your home

Telephone/Fax/EcoNet address:

☐ Write articles for the IWG newsletter

☐ Other (please specify)

What skills can you offer the IWG (please check all that apply)?

☐ Translate letters and documents (i.e. international platforms). Please specify languages and ability

☐ Provide information about international activists, organizations and activities

☐ Host international visitors

☐ Fundraising

What IWG projects are of most interest to you? Please specify if you would like more information about these projects.

Do you have any additional ideas regarding how we may successfully meet our objectives as stated in this letter?

If you can support the work of the IWG, send contributions along with this coupon to : International Working Group, c/o Earth Island Institute, 300 Broadway, Suite 28. San Francisco, CA 94133 ☐



Geothermal Development Threatens Mount Apo

Philip Waite & Stephanie Mesina

Mount Apo is the Philippines' tallest mountain. Virgin forests cover over 52,000 acres of the mountain's 146,000 acre surface, and 28 rivers and streams originate on its slopes. Mt. Apo is one of the last remaining habitats for the world's second largest bird, the Philippine eagle.

Mount Apo has been home to indigenous Filipinos since time immemorial, providing them with medicine, shelter, food, water and spiritual enrichment. For 500,000 indigenous Filipinos, Mt. Apo is sacred. They fear that drilling for geothermal energy by the Philippine National Oil Corporation (PNOC) will destroy Mt. Apo, and ultimately lead to their own destruction. As one tribal leader put it, Mt. Apo "is rich in the plants and animals which give us medicine and food... If PNOC wants to desecrate it, they might as well kill our tribe."

Unfortunately, Mt. Apo may be losing its protection as a national park. In 1987 and 1988, PNOC drilled two exploratory wells, and built a 5.3 mile road to the project site. Although drilling was ordered stopped in 1988, PNOC officials have announced plans to build as many as 22 wells on Mt. Apo.

Tapping geothermal energy pollutes the air and creates wastewater disposal problems. At Mt. Apo, hot and toxic gases released by the relatively modest amount of drilling have withered nearby trees. Drilling mud containing unknown quantities of toxic heavy metals and petroleum-based lubricants, have poisoned the Marbel and Matingao rivers, making them unfit for drinking and irrigation. Lithium, boron, arsenic, and hydrogen sulfide are present at elevated levels.

The drilling on Mt. Apo is being opposed by indigenous people, environmentalists, church leaders, and government officials. Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) Secretary Fulgencio Factoran declared the drilling 'patently illegal' and was instrumental in the order to stop it. Environmentalists

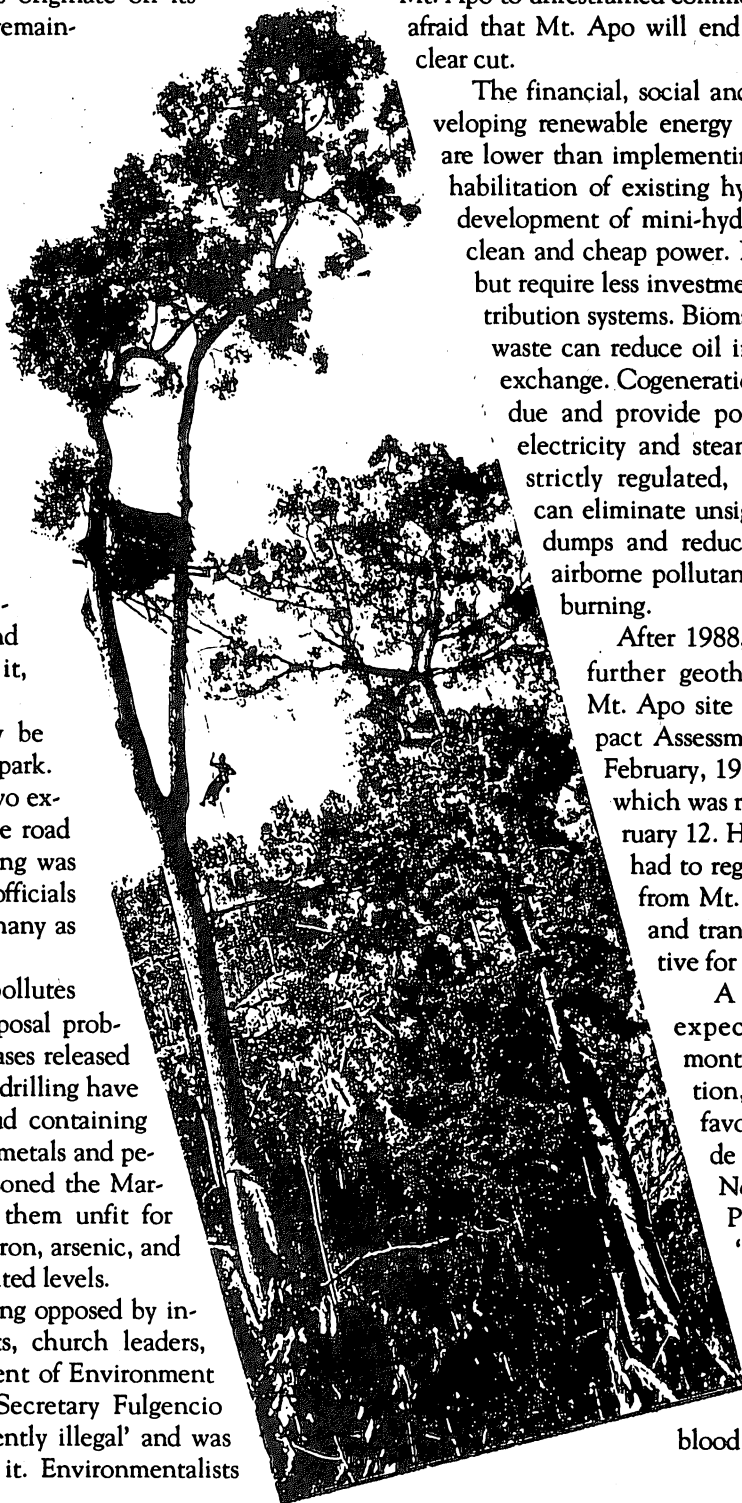
also oppose the project, fearing it will destroy one of the country's last remaining stands of virgin forest, and open up Mt. Apo to unrestrained commercial development. They are afraid that Mt. Apo will end up like most of Mindanao: clear cut.

The financial, social and environmental costs of developing renewable energy resources in the Philippines are lower than implementing the Mt. Apo project. Rehabilitation of existing hydroelectric resources and/or development of mini-hydroelectric energy can supply clean and cheap power. Photovoltaic cells are costly, but require less investment in transportation and distribution systems. Biomass conversion of agricultural waste can reduce oil imports and conserve foreign exchange. Cogeneration units burn sugarcane residue and provide power for cane crushers, and electricity and steam for alcohol distillation. If strictly regulated, waste-to-energy conversion can eliminate unsightly and unhealthy garbage dumps and reduce the amount of hazardous airborne pollutants emitted by home garbage burning.

After 1988, the government prohibited further geothermal development of the Mt. Apo site until an Environmental Impact Assessment was submitted. In early February, 1991, PNOC released a report, which was reviewed at a hearing on February 12. However, hearing participants had to register in Manila — 600 miles from Mt. Apo and the hearing site—and transportation costs are prohibitive for tribal Filipinos.

A decision on the project is expected in the next several months. In spite of DENR opposition, the government seems to favor the project. Bishop Juan de Dios Pueblos of Kidapawan, North Cotabato, reported that President Aquino told him, "... all the surveys have been completed.. and they are generally positive. The project will push through."

In April, 1989, 21 tribal leaders formed a blood pact vowing to defend Mt.



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For A Green Alternative In Europe

Aurora Bricio, Madrid

Simultaneously published in various European countries, the Ecosocialist Manifesto calls for a reflection on the capitalist system, in these times when it feels triumphant, and on the socialist system as it has been practiced so far. This critique stems from ecological postulates on the one hand—relationships between human beings and nature—but also from socialist ones—relationships among human beings; that is, politically, economically, and socially.

We are witnessing a crisis of established politics—a deeper and deeper divorce between political representatives and actual problems. The ecological crisis tragically reveals this divorce. Established politics has not prepared any community to face the challenge of the serious environmental problems which lead us to self-destruction.

Never before throughout the history of Earth have such huge modifications of nature taken place in such a short interval. Human pressure on nature produces such a fast rhythm of deterioration that it does not allow for self-adaptation and self-renovation. Our planet is in danger. That is why ecology “tends to contribute a radical criticism to the dominant production and consumption system.” Its strength is rooted in its critique of all the economic theory conceived in the XIX century.

Capitalism, in its evolution, has managed to find practical ways to safeguard the workforce and guarantee its maintenance. In relation to nature, “an ecological reform of capitalism” has been initiated: in the North Hemisphere, an environmentalist policy has been put into gear; though it constitutes real progress, it is “limited, provisional, and contradictory.”

Technological development is currently being mythologized as the mid-term solution to environmental problems—forgetting that although technology has historically reduced some quantitative aspects of the problem, it has also placed them at far more dangerous levels qualitatively.

Parallel to this myth, although more difficult to maintain nowadays, is another

myth—that of the unlimited capacity of nature to satisfy unlimited human necessities. The authors question both postulates. I would not place a limit to growing human needs as an ontological issue—human needs can, in fact, be unlimited—but rather as a historical and ecological one. That is, I would place it in relation to the criticism of excess consumption and the unfair distribution of wealth (which are contradictory to the clearly existing limits of nature or of planet Earth) as well as to the elements of alienation that consumption implies.

After analyzing, in the classical Marxist way, both the capitalist production process and the role that the human workforce plays in it, the authors say, “there is a long way to go before economics occupies the place it deserves both in society and in relation to nature.”

The Role of Feminism

But ecosocialism also rests on feminism. “Ecosocialism will either be feminist or it will not be at all.” Patriarchy, housework, “the place where all alienations concentrate”—the body and power are analyzed in classical feminist terms. Political representation of women is important. It is necessary to adopt the principle of obligatory alternation of men and women in eligible posts.”

One point stands out as controversial. “We do reject alarmist campaigns on de-

mography,” says the Manifesto. In fact, all of us know the close relationship between politics and demography, and how Northern countries use it against Southern ones—birth control and brutal sterilization



campaigns on the one hand, abortion limitation on the other. But maybe what we should ask ourselves is whether the Earth can support in decent human conditions the 10 billion people that will soon be here. Isn't there perhaps a real contradiction to analyze from the ecological, political, and social point of view? Of course, demographic self regulation in any case must depend on women's liberation, as the authors state.

New reproduction technologies, and genetic manipulations on human beings are also rejected given that “risks to alter the human species appear greater than the possibilities of improving it.”

Colonialism, the internationalization of production, and North-South relationships are analyzed as well, and the conclu-

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WHAT ROAD BACK FOR GERMAN GREENS?

Elections in Germany: Kohl's Landslide Victory, Greens Out

Juergen Maier, Federal Executive Committee, Green Party Germany

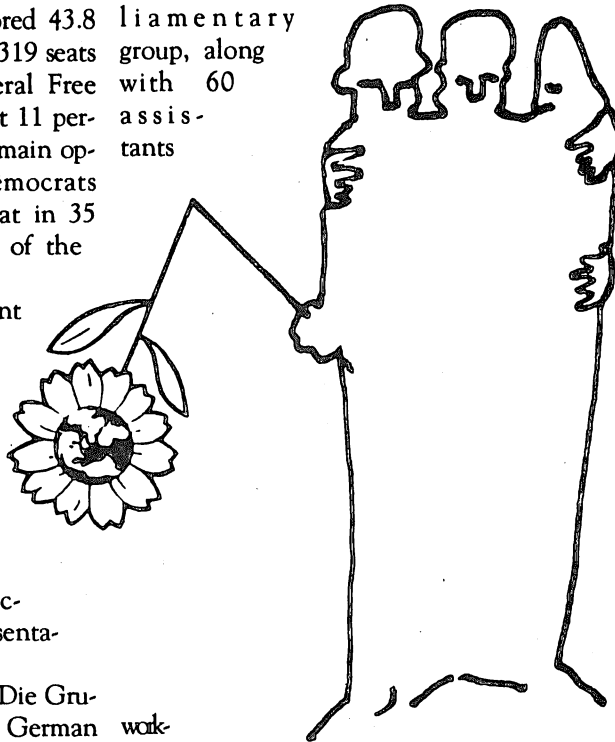
The first all-German elections have produced disastrous results for the opposition parties and a landslide victory for Chancellor Kohl's ruling Christian Democrat-Liberal coalition government. Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) scored 43.8 percent of the vote and will hold 319 seats in the new Bundestag, his liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP) allies got 11 percent and will hold 79 seats. The main opposition party, the Social Democrats (SPD), suffered their worst defeat in 35 years and got just 33.5 percent of the vote and 239 seats.

The Greens scored 5.2 percent nationwide but fell victim to a particularity in the electoral system. The country was still divided into two electoral areas, West and East, identical with the former states. A party that got at least 5 percent in at least one of the two electoral areas would get parliamentary seats according to the proportional representation system.

The Greens therefore ran as Die Grünen (Green Party) in the West German electoral area and as Bündnis 90/Grüne (Alliance 90/Greens) in the East. The latter was an electoral alliance between the citizens' movements and the E. German Greens. The two Green Parties merged only the day after the elections because the Easterners wanted to have their independent campaign, free from Western domination characteristic of the other parties. Though the two lists scored 5.2 percent nationwide only 8 MPs were elected. In West Germany the Greens scored only 4.8 percent, not enough for any seats, while in the East it was 5.9 percent. But even with the two electoral areas, the disaster could have been avoided. Had the two Green Parties united before the elections, as some people had urged, the vote would have been combined and there

would now be around 35 Green MPs.

The Bundestag knockout means a financial disaster for the Greens. 206 people are unemployed — the staff of the former Green parliamentary group, along with 60 assistants



working in the regions.

The party's eco-funds supporting alternative projects and movements with grants and loans will face very serious problems: they got their money from the MPs who donated a large part of their parliamentary salaries to these eco-funds. The MPs from the state parliaments earn much less and cannot compensate for this loss. Every party in Germany gets 5 marks for every vote after state, federal, and European elections, and if you lose many votes, you lose 5 times that amount in marks. Financial cutbacks and higher membership fees will be inevitable. How the loss is distributed between the states and the federal party will be a very controversial issue at the next convention.

The Greens' 1987 result had been much more favorable: 8.3 percent in West Germany. Why did the Greens lose so many votes? The failure of Europe's most prominent Green Party is partly a result of the objective conditions in Germany's unification year, partly a homegrown result.

Though green issues remain as urgent as never before, they were not crucial for the voters in this campaign. The government's Forest Damage Report was published just a few weeks before the elections and indicated that acid rain had left the forests in their worst condition ever — this was not a campaign issue. The nuclear industry is preparing their comeback through East Germany, supported by the federal government — this was not a campaign issue. After the coalition government of Greens and Social Democrats in Berlin collapsed two weeks before the election, the first thing the Social Democrats did was cancel the former Green Energy Minister's shutdown order for the city's nuclear research reactor. The Social Democrats talk a lot about phasing out nuclear power,

but practically they do the opposite. Christian Democrats, Liberals, and Social Democrats had already announced before the elections they would change the constitution after the election to allow deployment of German troops to crisis regions outside the NATO treaty area such as, Saudi Arabia. A servile press took it for granted that this constitutional change is necessary and prevented it from becoming a campaign issue. People preferred to listen to the siren songs of the end of the Cold War and beginning of the era of peace in Europe at the Paris CSCE summit in November. The election campaign was much less political than previous ones, the economic and social impact of reunification was the domi-



nant preoccupation of the public.

But can you expect from a political party that it adapts to changing situations and develops new strategies? Die Gruenen did not sufficiently do that since 1987, mainly because of the never-ending struggle between the various factions of the party. This internal blockade prevented the party from adapting to objectively difficult conditions and promoting Green policies against the trend. This development was also accelerated by defections of a couple of prominent green left-wingers to the PDS, East Germany's reformed Communist Party. They had charged that the Greens had become far too established, just a greenish copy of the Social Democrats or even the Liberals. Some of them became campaign managers of the PDS in the West and succeeded not in winning Green votes for the PDS but in keeping a considerable number, particularly in the metropolitan areas, from voting Green. Two former Green MPs from the Bundestag and the Hamburg State Legislature were elected on the PDS list as new Bundestag members, one in the East, one being the PDS' only Western MP. Ironically, a third former Green MP also made it: Otto Schilly, former realo leader, was elected on Bavaria's Social Democratic list.

The Greens lost about 1.4 million voters in the Western electoral area, down from 3.2 million to 1.8 million. About one third of the lost vote went to the non-voters — people who did not vote at all out of disappointment with all parties including the Greens. Two thirds went to the Social Democrats, mainly among the young voters who obviously found the pro-

gressive SPD chancellor candidate Oskar Lafontaine, premier of the state of Saarland, a credible and progressive alternative to Kohl and the constantly quarreling Greens. The irony is now that Lafontaine announced he would not accept his Bundestag seat and would remain premier of the state of Saarland, leaving a Bundestag behind him with SPD right-winger Hans-Jochen Vogel controlling the SPD parliamentary group. Germany is back in the three party system it used to have before the Greens arrived, a Bundestag without Greens, without Lafontaine and with the conservatives as strong as they've been in 30 years.

Many potential Green voters obviously wanted to teach the Greens a lesson, since the parliamentary group elected in 1987 with many expectations and 8.3 percent of the vote had bitterly disappointed its own party and the electorate. At the

end of the legislative term the green Bundestag group was paralyzed by individualism driven to its extremes and showed all signs of disintegration. The new parliamentary group would probably have been considerably better since the candidates were chosen more carefully (and three quarters of the old group would not have returned), but this was hardly convincing stuff for the public. Such home-made handicaps are a good part of the reasons why the Greens could not convince the electorate sufficiently. However, many people obviously did not want to teach the Greens such a strong lesson: many Green Party offices were confronted with lots of phone calls by people saying that this was not their intention and they regretted very much having voted SPD or not at all. Some states even report several hundreds of new members in the week after the election.

However, for some Greens, the reasons for the defeat are very simple. Said Joschka Fischer, realo strongman and Green whip in the Hessen State Parliament, and Antje Vollmer, speaker of the now defunct Bundestag parliamentary group and leader of the eco-liberal New Direction 1988 (Aufbruch) group at a press conference on December 4: The party must change its structures entirely. We have to get rid of 'basocratic' obstacles such as rotation, having no party president, and preventing MPs from being members of the party executive. The Greens must accept the structures of a normal party and accept that politics is impossible with prominent personalities. If the Greens do not become a professional party that actively seeks governmental power and definitely renounce all forms of fundamentalism, it will perish. No surprise that they proposed themselves as party presidents.

The Left Forum, the dominant faction on the left of the party, surprised the public two

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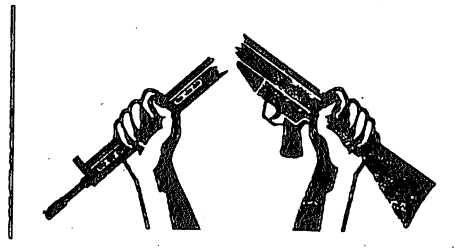
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days later with another press conference where their leaders Ludger Volmer, a former MP, and Juergen Maier, party executive member, agreed with the realo analysis that the party's structures have to be streamlined: The party's left has made a mistake for far too long in defending ineffective structures that were supposed to guarantee grassroots democracy simply because the right wing of the party has proposed to change the structures. Rotation should be scrapped altogether because this experiment failed to produce a constant stream of new qualified politicians. A couple of ineffective, so-called grassroots democratic committees should be abolished or thoroughly reformed. However, they opposed the creation of a party president, but not on principled reasons but for lack of a suitable prominent person that really could represent the whole party instead of just one faction. The Left Forum maintained that the structures are not the problem but the unclear political orientation of the party and called for a clear decision about that in 1991.

The small remaining fundamentalist faction led by former Federal Executive spokeswoman Jutta Ditzfurth offered rather simplistic explanations of the electoral defeat: the party had distanced itself from the social movements; however, she did not mention that most of these movements have exactly the same problems as the Greens. Said Ditzfurth: Fischer and Vollmer are the grave-diggers of the green projects. The call for structural reforms is ridiculous and would transform the party into a bourgeois irrelevant party, and labeled a liberal citizens' movement MP a reactionary.

Political pluralism way beyond what the traditional party ideologies in other parties would allow used to be one element of the Greens' charming new attractiveness, but nowadays it has become unworkable, in some cases even unbearable. The Greens have come too much and too long under the influence of its ideological fringes on the left and the right of the party. On the left, the fundamentalists have almost completely left the party since it engaged in government coalitions and thus

demonstrated its reformist character. They went to an extraparlimentary pressure group called Radical Left, the PDS or other groups. Only few, namely former federal executive spokeswoman Jutta Ditzfurth, still remain in the party, much to the nuisance of many realos. While the Greens' profile as a progressive, ecological and social reformist party is hardly challenged any more from the fundamentalist and radical—left side in the party, the New Direction 1988 (Aufbruch) group has been busy trying to press the party into a neo-liberal profile of a party that is concerned about the environment without addressing social questions. This group is characterized by a much more ideological approach: most of its members originate from small ultraleft, mostly Maoist, sects of the 1970's and now



show the zealotry of the converted.

There is no alternative to finally establishing the party's character as a progressive, ecological and social party at the next party convention in April 1991 in a clear way to end the never-ending infighting. If the party refuses to decide and goes on keeping all options open, remaining a big umbrella for everybody, it will soon erode into different factions and state parties going their own way, as all sides agree. A structural reform is considered necessary by almost everybody. Details are to be discussed in the coming months, and a new federal executive is to be elected on a clear political and programmatic basis in April. While the state executive committees, the Federal Committee of Delegates and the Federal Executive Committee had agreed Dec.7—9 on this procedure, the New Direction 1988 group on Dec.10 went to the press calling for the establishment of a new party on a clear eco-liberal, anti-left basis, formed out of parts of Die Gruenen and parts of the East German citizens' movement. This sectarianism of course does an extreme disservice to the

party that just had agreed the day before on a working program for the coming months and that is trying to get a good result in the Jan.20 Hessen state elections. The Federal Executive on Dec.11 therefore approved a letter to all members where the results of the crisis meetings Dec.7—9 were included together with sharp criticisms of the New Direction and fundamentalist groups. This implies that a majority in the federal executive sees no future for a common party with these two groups, and hopes for a common basis between the two mainstream factions of Left Forum and Realos as the core of a renovated Green Party that finally stops fighting primarily each other.

It will be mainly the responsibility of the Greens themselves whether they can recover from this serious electoral defeat or not — just as it was mainly the responsibility of the Greens themselves to lose so many voters in four years. The Greens still have a strong basis of 45,000 members, many parliamentary groups in the states and in municipal and county councils, coalition governments with the SPD in the state of Lower Saxony and in many cities, including Munich and Frankfurt, and a group in the European Parliament. The state of Hessen, which had the first SPD—Green coalition government in 1985—1987, will elect a new state parliament Jan.20. The Greens probably will get the 8 percent again that voted Green in the state elections in 1987, because many don't want the Greens to disappear. If the party takes a clear decision which policies it stands for and streamlines its structures it will be able to demonstrate that the other parties in fact can't make the Greens superfluous. The Social Democrats can be trusted in the sense that they won't be the better Greens. In 1994 we will see: in June 1994 there will be a European election (we got 8.3 percent in the 1989 European elections) where many people vote Green who wouldn't vote this way in a Bundestag election. This will be the test election for the October 1994 Bundestag election. This will demonstrate whether in politics there are the same laws as in sports: They never come back. Perhaps they do....

□



The Automotive Column

by Charles Varon

Editor's Note: One of the most inspiring new Green voices in the United States is that of Jessabel Orson. In her speeches, testimony before Congress, and media appearances, she has demonstrated that the environmental movement is becoming home to a wider and more diverse range of people than ever before. We are pleased to publish here a talk Ms. Orson gave last month to a group of environmentalists at Watkins College. This talk will also appear as the foreword to her forthcoming book.

Let me say at the outset that I never had the opportunity to go to college. What I know, I know through my experience. I've been a waitress, actress, welder, bouncer, and racecar driver.

I'm now pushing fifty. When I was twenty, what I wanted more than anything was to be an astronaut. John Glenn had just orbited the Earth, and I decided that Jessabel Orson wasn't going to live out her years without getting beyond the gravitational pull of this planet. The closest I ever came was a short stint as a helicopter traffic reporter for a radio station in Chicago. I also rode in the Goodyear blimp, but that was a one-shot deal, specially written into my contract with ABC. (My then-husband and I made love in the blimp while taking XTC, but that's another story.)

Since I've become active with the Greens, I've had to face up to this whole question of escape. I wanted out! Let me admit that up front. I was not content with the 9 to 5, the humdrum, work, commute, watch TV, diaper the kids and mow the lawn. My kids could diaper themselves, for all I cared. But being an environmentalist means that wanting out from Mother Earth is something I had to re-evaluate, see if I can get a handle on and if that means a career change, then so be it. Which in my case, as you know, it did.

Americans are not a people at peace. I don't mean the ancient urge to go to war, though the last few months have taught us a thing or two about that. I mean a people at peace with the endless flow of existence: birth, death, and all that comes in between, even changing diapers if need be. If you're addicted to excitement, to the adrenaline rush of 400 horsepower, then sustainability is frightening, folks.

I didn't really figure that out until I was lying in traction after the second major accident. For all the thrill and all the

sweat, what auto racing boiled down to was this: I was going around in circles! Admittedly at a very high speed. I was orbiting the racetrack, just as John Glenn had orbited the Earth, just as the Earth itself orbits the sun, just as every electron orbits the nucleus of an atom. By going around in circles, I was actually making a deep connection with the essential energy of the universe! Speed was irrelevant.

I signed myself out of the hospital. I actually had to forge the doctor's signature. I changed my gauze, rented a car and headed straight to Bloomfield Hills, an affluent community with lots of traffic circles. I drove around these circles, over and over, real slowly—maybe 5, 10 miles per hour. Just around and around and around, completing the circle and starting again, mesmerized. No crew, no frenetic pit stops, no smell of burning rubber. I must have done this for half an hour. Then I pulled over, killed the engine, and just cried like a baby.

Five years later, I'm up in the trafficopter, afternoon rush hour. All the expressways are jammed: the Kennedy, the Edens, the Dan Ryan. Lake Shore Drive is slow to a crawl. On the Eisenhower, a tractor trailer's overturned, blocking three lanes. It's the middle of July, knockout heat. Tens of thousands of commuters stuck. From the air, looking down, I can see that there's no escape. I mean, no escape in the *largest* sense. We're stuck here with each other. Forever. *Life on Earth is a traffic jam.* (I've shared this insight with several former astronauts, to see if, from outer space, they had a similar perception of the planet, but none of them did. I think they were too far up.)

The following day, traffic just as bad, I read a poem over the air—Walt Whitman: *Light-hearted I take to the open road, Healthy, free, the world before me, The long brown path before me leading wherever I choose.*

"Well, commuters," I said, "those days

are over. It's a whole new paradigm now."

O Walt Whitman, could you have dreamed the open road become an eight-lane highway? The long brown path an asphalt-covered blacktop, wagon trail for silent congregation inching home?

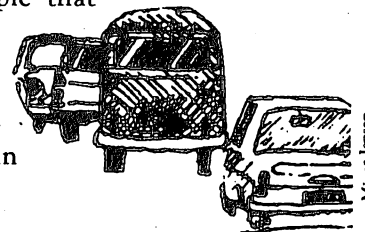
When I landed the copter, the station manager was waiting for me with a pink slip. "I hired you to be a cheerleader," he said, "to tell our drive-timers that no matter how bad the traffic, they were winning the race home. As a former driving champion, you had the authority to do that. But you squandered that authority. In broadcasting, that's suicide."

By then I had stopped driving altogether. I'd been reading Callenbach and Schumacher and Gary Snyder. I sold my cars. Even the Lamborghini and the '53 Buick—the first car I'd ever greased and grozzled.

I walked, biked, took the bus. It didn't matter how far I went, or what form of transportation I used. *The key was to go in a circle, in a loop.* This went against all my training, all the stuff about "getting there" and "moving forward" and "progress." But deep inside, it's what our biological programming is telling us to do: to return. Just look at birds, or salmon. It's what I had been groping toward as a racecar driver. And it's the same longing you find in commuters at the end of the workday: to return, to achieve wholeness.

As environmentalists in the 1990's we have two key jobs. One is to show our fellow Americans that they can complete the journey without burning fossil fuels. The other, which is just as important, is to educate people that

no one journey is inherently better than any other.



Reprinted with permission from *Zero to Fifty: My Life So Far* by Jessabel Orson as told to Andrew Tylenol-Macbeth. Breakthrough Publishing, July 1991.

Green Gathering 1991

Pleasant surprises are in store for sojourners to The Fourth National Greens Gathering, August 15-21, in the lovely Potomac Highlands of the Allegheny Mountains. The gathering is open to everyone, so if you don't know about The Greens, come join us, as we explore ideas, organize actions, create strategies, share insights, and have fun together!

The Place: We'll meet at Davis & Elkins College, in Elkins West Virginia, on the edge of the Mononhahela National Forest, just 150 miles south of Pittsburgh and 200 miles Northwest of D.C. The site provides ample opportunity for hiking, canoeing, sightseeing, and camping. For indoor folks, dorm-style housing may be preferable to camping, and we have access to a Nautilus fitness center, an indoor swimming pool, and a magnificent chapel.

The Plan: The gathering is divided into two sections, to accommodate folks with limited time and funds. A person can register for one or both sections, and pay accordingly. Registration begins at noon, on Thursday, August 15. A Green fair, including information tables, Earth-friendly products and books, bartering, and festivities, begins the same afternoon (tables for the Greenfair are limited, so reserve a table fast!). Everyone bring your juggling stuff, instruments, etc., for such times, and for the Talent Show. Newcomers will be welcome with orientation sessions on Thursday and Friday, describing our history, structure and process. Newcomers may also sign up for the Greenpal program, where they are paired with long-time Greens, who will serve as their "helpers" at the gathering. Drop us a note or call if you'd like to be a Greenpal or if you'd like to have one. Another early event is the Green Party Organizing Committees'

meeting, which begins Wednesday evening and lasts til' Friday afternoon.

Responding to your requests, and to obvious needs among Greens and other activist groups, the conference focuses on multi-cultural alliance building and community building. Thus, Thursday and Friday feature early community-building events, which may include workshops, sharing circles, new games, and later, music and/or a campfire.

After Friday night's opening ceremony, we'll be fortunate to hear opening presentations on multi-cultural alliance building. Friday night also features a panel entitled "Jobs vs. the Environment? Is the Worker's Superfund the Answer?" The evening is topped off with the long-awaited Party (!) followed by a late night

campfire in the groves.

On Saturday, for multi-cultural alliance building activities, we'll share with Sulaiman Madhi, Margo Adair, and a surprise guest or two. Other Saturday panels: 1) Local Organizing, and 2) The Role of Green Parties. Saturday workshops include: Student Organizing, Direct Action, Green Party Organizing, Green Economics, Green Cities, Georgism, Animal Rights & Vegetarian Politics, the Women's Movement, International Greens Connections, Alliance Building, and more. In the evening, regional caucuses bring together folks from various regions to touch base, prepare for the Congress, and integrate new folks. If anyone's still kickin' by 11 p.m., a cabaret is planned.

Sunday gives us global perspective, with a panel organized by the International Working Group. A workshop session follows, to include Community Building, Multi-cultural Alliances, Student Organizing, Green Economics, and participant-generated workshops. After lunch, the children will express themselves in an hour-long presentation. Then, we bid everyone safe journey home in a half-hour closing, followed by delegate orientation and free-time for non-delegates. The evening is open for relaxation, socializing,

and an open stage/talent show.

Decision-making: The decision-making Congress section of the gathering convenes on Monday morning. Get involved! Send delegates from your local group to help shape The Greens' national program and implement a new structure. Choose nominees to become representatives in the newly created Green Council and Coordinating Committee. Don't miss the Monday evening discussion, "Green Parties: What Should They Look Like?" We'll also consider proposals for national strategies and actions to undertake in the coming year—the "500 Years of Resistance and Dignity" campaign, for example. Send us your action, program, and structure proposals by July 14 to have them scheduled for consideration.

Elections will be held for national working groups/committees, including the Gathering Committee and the Program Committee. Here's your chance to help create the next national Greens Gathering, or to nurture the development of our national program. Elected committee members will meet with last year's committee to "pass the baton," then on their own to brainstorm. Afterwards, the gathering evaluation gives us a chance to review our progress, to air our feelings, and to suggest improvements for future gatherings.

On the last day, the newly elected Green Council and Coordinating Committee each meet for the first time. Closing ceremonies at 1:30 bid everyone safe journey home.

The Trip: U.S. Air is giving us discounts, based on 150 people using U.S. Air, so don't book with another airline if you can help it! The U.S. Air toll-free reservation number is 1-800-428-4322. Let them know you're with The Greens, and we've been given a discount, or call 614/59-GREEN for an account number (ask for Matthew). Our shuttle will take you from the Pittsburgh International Airport to Davis & Elkins College (about 150 miles) for a \$25 round-trip fee.

For those driving to the gathering, we're helping to organize vanpools/carpools from regions, to help folks link up for savings in energy, time, and money—and for the great company! Let us know if

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Earth Day at Bayview Hunters Point

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a coalition of environmental groups of all stripes came together to organize against the war. As usual people looked around the room and found that people of color were not represented. Sam Murray, who is active in organizing against toxics in a black community in the southern edge of town, was invited to join. When he came, he challenged the coalition for always inviting him to their activities but they never joined the folks out in his community. What emerged was a coalition to pull together an Earth Day with community folks in their own neighborhood. Despite the lack of cooperation from city government the day was a great success! Over twenty-five organizations helped organize a day of celebrating the earth and learning about the toxic threats to the Bayview Hunters Point Community. Environmentalists came from all over the Bay Area to a neighborhood most had never stepped foot in and the neighborhood folks were out in full force. Everyone learned how environmental racism was threatening the community. The day included tours through the neighborhood, lots of music by community musicians to dance to,



A fiery mural on the side of a local building provides the backdrop for Earth Day at Bayview Hunters Point, San Francisco

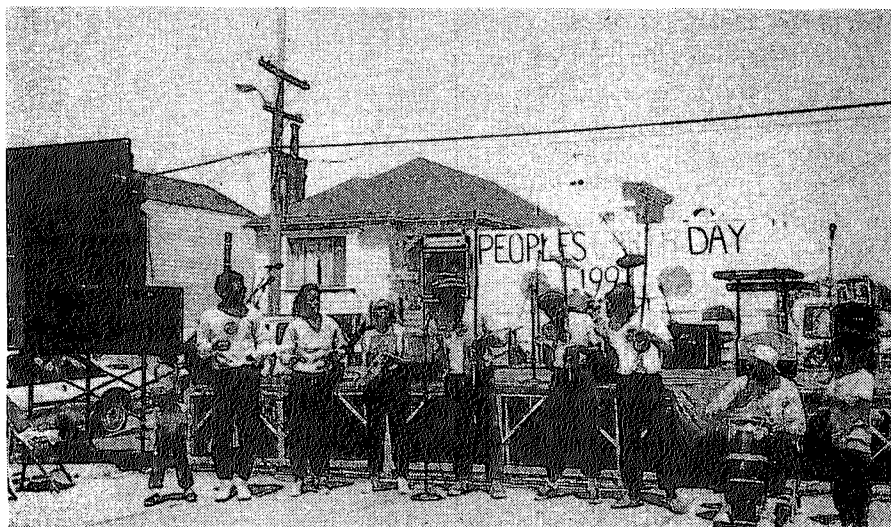
clowns and stilt walkers who kept the kids fascinated, speeches that informed us all, and videos and lots of literature to look over while eating food brought in by local merchants—everyone was inspired by the day. Now the coalition continues helping to get something done about the environmental degradation so the Bayview Hunters Point is again safe to live in.

Green Letter, coalition member

People's Earth Day in Bayview Hunters Point was a testament that the African American Community is seriously concerned about its environmental plight. The New Bayview Committee, under the leadership of Sam Murray, has awakened the consciousness of thousands of residents by kindling alliances with highly skilled proactive environmental groups about potentially genocidal health dangers to Bayview Hunters Point residents, which if continued will effect generations of our children. Peoples Earth Day was a historic event; it not only exposed decades of environmental racism but gave a ray of hope to the innocent victims. More than anything else, it showed that people from diverse cultures and backgrounds can come together around a single issue—our survival on this planet as human beings of one human race. That day we all—red, black, brown, and white—sang together, danced together, played music together, shared food together and talked together. There was love for one another in the air. Peoples Earth Day in BVHP meant that threats to mother earth and its peoples anywhere is a threat to mother earth and human existence everywhere.

Kevin Williams

The New Bayview Community



Capoeira dancers highlighted the afternoon's entertainment, which featured local musicians, poets, rappers, and speakers



Families in New Haven

Greens Offer Alternatives as Education, health care suffer under "liberal" government

The situation of New Haven's families is particularly grave. We are the fourth poorest city in the United States subsidizing America's second richest University, Yale. Yale spends ten times as much money on its approximately 10,000 people as the city of New Haven spends on its approximately 100,000 people. There is no public daycare provided for children under 2 years of age. There are few after-school and summer programs for children and no teen centers, jobs, or activities. Libraries, which are one constructive place for children to gather, have been eliminated or cut. The public schools, a traditional means of advancement and hope, are underfunded and inadequate. New Haven has a 40% drop out rate. The minimum education requirement for New Haven's children will be met by denying funds for special education. This year our newly elected liberal mayor Daniels is requesting special state permission to spend even less than the state's minimum required for the education of each New Haven student. New Haven is among the four Connecticut cities and towns with the lowest student proficiency rates in both math and English.

In addition to the family stresses and changes effecting the nation as a whole, New Haven suffers disproportionately from drug addiction and crime. New Haven is the Connecticut city with the highest number of drug addicted babies. In a study done at Yale New Haven Hospital, 50% of the birth clinic patients took cocaine within 24 hours of delivering their babies. Direct drug addiction or sex with drug addicts has made New Haven fourth in the

nation in the number of persons with AIDS. The national percentage rate of persons with AIDS who are mothers is 8.3%. New Haven's rate is 29%.

In addition to the other problems New Haven families will face is the problem of coping with the psychological, structural, and mental problems caused by maternal drug abuse. Maternal cocaine and crack abuse is correlated with children's learning disabilities, kidney problems, abnormally small brains and heads, eye defects, strokes and skeletal abnormalities. The schools are already failing 40% of New Haven children without severe

disabilities. How will they cope with the disabled children of today's addicts when they reach school age?

Many people creating families in New Haven have the most meager financial resources to help them cope with these families. Half of New Haven's births are to single mothers. This is twice the national average. Families with the highest number of children in New Haven are the poorest families living in neighborhoods that are the least safe for children or adults. Parents in New Haven are additionally at risk for death and injury. In 1987, 66% of deaths of 25 to 44 year olds were due to injury or poisoning. Many who died are parents.

This year New Haven closed the only residential drug addiction program we had. Under Mayor Daniels there is neither the will nor resources to address the problems faced by New Haven's families. Daniels had neither the will nor the commitment to endorse the Green Party's bill requiring Yale to pay \$8,000,000 to the city. In fact, the recent give-away deal proposed by

Daniels was thrown together by Daniels and his Yale advisors in response to the success of our bill. Similarly Daniels lacks the will to collect the \$15,000,000 owed to the city in back taxes.

Without the will to change these conditions and without the money for the programs needed, New Haven's families face a bleak future. Our democratic liberal administration is fighting to give our children less while it saves Yale millions. The Greens are the only chance this city presently has to give hope to children and their parents for a better life.

Harriet Fraad

New Haven Green Party

(excerpted from Green Times, the newsletter of the New Haven Green Party, 42 Livingston Street, New Haven CT 06511)



Upcoming Bioregional Gatherings

Ozarks—Ozark Area Community Congress, September 20-22, Hammond Mill Camp. Contact Kim Thorsen, Rt 5, Box 1026, Ava, MO Ozarks 65608.

Shasta—Shasta Bioregional Congress, September 13-15, Napa County, California. Contact Marie Dolcini, Planet Drum Foundation, PO Box 31251, San Francisco CA 94131, (415) 285-6556.

Cascadia—Cascadia Bioregional Congress, September 20-22, Lost Valley Center, Dexter, Oregon (near Eugene). Contact David McCloskey, 2151 7th Ave-West, Seattle WA 98119, (206) 285-7342.

North Ish—Dry Interior British Columbia, Hat Creek Gathering, third weekend in July. Contact Glen Makepeace, Box 7, Lillooet, BC VOK-1V0, Canada.

Greens of San Diego

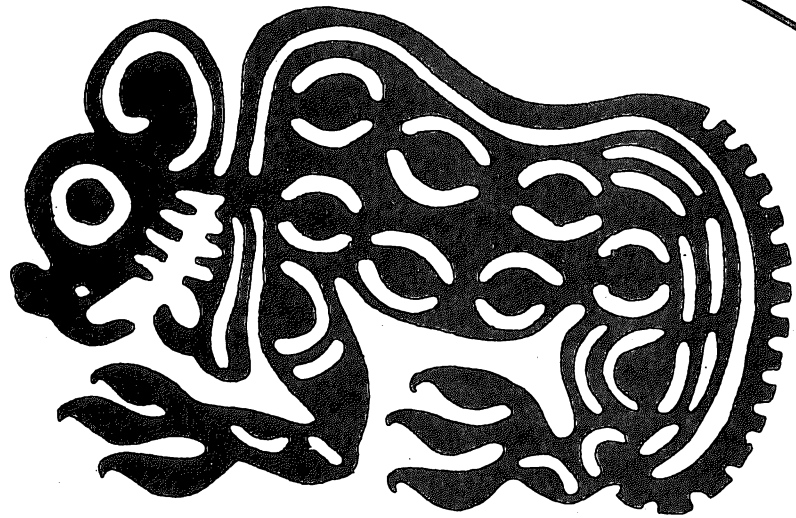
Report from the San Diego/Tijuana Bioregion

green news

Now that we're between wars during the New World Order, the Greens of San Diego can get back to focusing on what we do best; continuing to build a grassroots green movement and register voters for the California Green Party. Here in San Diego we have a healthy mix of "movement" and "party" activities. It seems that even the press is finally catching on that Greens are into peace, environmentalism and electoral politics. Some Greens (and local groups) are more involved with electoral politics, some concentrate on environmental issues, and others are working for social justice. Some groups do a little of everything.

The Chaparral and San Diego State University Greens virtually make up our Green Party Organizing Committee in this region. The North County Coastal and University of California at San Diego Greens mostly work on stuff like personal empowerment and spirituality, and promoting human rights and ecological awareness. The Ocean Beach Greens like "action" and environmentalism, do newsletters and will soon start producing educational videos.

The Greens are barely 3 years old in San Diego, and in that time we've matured



and created a green community. After all, we're all kindred. It's much easier to relate to a Green that it is to a Democrat, a developer, a hunter, or a used car dealer.

All Greens may agree that the Republicans and the Democrats suck. And, that the National Wildlife Federation, World Wildlife Fund, Sierra Club, etc., etc., by themselves aren't going to be able to save the planet for us. But all Greens do not agree on the best method for bringing about a change of

consciousness in a critical mass of humanity (the hundredth monkey scenario) to quell our journey towards planetary eco-collapse. By respecting diversity and developing a broad-based green movement, including a Green Party, perhaps we Greens will be able to find success by utilizing the varied methods available to us as we "fight the powers that be" from many different progressive angles. What other hope do we have?

Kip Krueger

Fourth North American Bioregional Congress



The Fourth North American Bioregional Congress Proceedings, edited by "The Gulf of Maine Editorial Collective." NABC IV was held at Lake Umbagog in the Gulf of Maine and was the largest Congress to date. This 80+ page volume contains the full essays, regional illustrations and planet-wide letters of support. \$10 from Gulf of Maine Books, 61 Maine St, Brunswick ME 04011.

Keep In Touch with Green Party Organizing

Green Paper

Green Paper is the official newsletter of the Green Party Organizing Committee/USA. Each issue contains the latest news and analysis of third party organizing, letters, book reviews, and more. Reports from many states and areas are included.

If you want to participate in the Green Party Organizing Committee/USA, or if you just want to keep up on Green Party goings-on around the country, and the debates that are happening among GPOC members, send \$15 to Green Paper, GPOC/USA, Box 39, Huntington NY 11743-1039.



Campus Greens Active on Many Issues

Student activism is back! Campuses worldwide reintroduced the "Teach-in" during the war for the "New World Order," a new free-speech movement has appeared on many campuses, and new environmental courses are being introduced every year.

One of the hottest debates on campuses in this country is the issue of what is and what is not "Politically Correct." Audits done on campuses to see who is investing in South Africa, who supports racism, sexism or homophobia, are often being labeled as assaults on free speech by the radical right. Time magazine (April 1, 1991, pg. 66), published an article on the subject and took a slightly less than unbiased approach to the story. Luckily, Green member Charles Betz has taken a job working for the National Coalition for Universities in the Public Interest (202-234-0041), and is working specifically on issues such as these.

UC Santa Barbara held a Radical Environmentalism Conference March 1-3, which included Brian Tokar among many others such as Alexander Cockburn, Winona LaDuke, Kelpie Wilson, Judi Bari, George Sessions, and Chris Manes.

Last year for her masters thesis

project, April Smith did a campus environmental audit at U.C.L.A. April toured the states for a while last year, and can send you a copy of her manual. Contact her at (213-450-4507).

Another campus issue with nationwide implications is a cut of over \$400 million from the California higher education budget by new governor Pete Wilson. As a result, the Cal State University system (20 campuses) has hired a new chancellor, Barry Munitz. Barry was vice president of Maxxam, famed clear-cutter of the Ancient Redwoods, and was hired to bring outside investment into the school system. Our education needs to be as far removed from big business as it is from the church. If students are getting an education merely for the monetary reward of a nice job, then they have the opportunity to attend trade schools, or get a business degree. Our minds are not to be sold off to work for the destruction of our planet!

We have not received funding for an internship at the Green CoC headquarters in Kansas City. However, the Southern California Green Alliance has been generous enough to allow us to work from their office. Since September, we have had Green visitors from Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Germany, and Canada. This has helped to open new ties with Youth and Campus Greens in these countries, as well as Bel-

gium and Switzerland. This June we can hopefully make some personal contacts by attending the "Europe of Regions" meeting in Zurich, Switzerland.

Jason Kirkpatrick



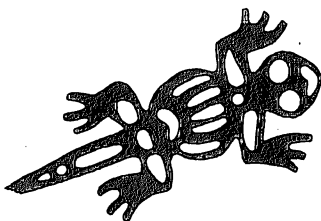
Over one hundred students have requested a copy of the Campus Green Networks' Organizers Manual since our inception last September. For an Organizers Manual, please send \$4 to: Campus Green Network, 142 Hollister Ave., Santa Monica, CA 90405, or call 213-31-GREEN. This manual is available on Macintosh disk for \$5, and is updated regularly. Please send us your material and ideas.

Attention Greens and Other Activists

Green Letter depends on you for accounts and analysis of actions and other organizing. We want to cover any and all nonviolent grassroots work, including direct action, social justice, ecology, peace, anti-nuclear, solidarity work...

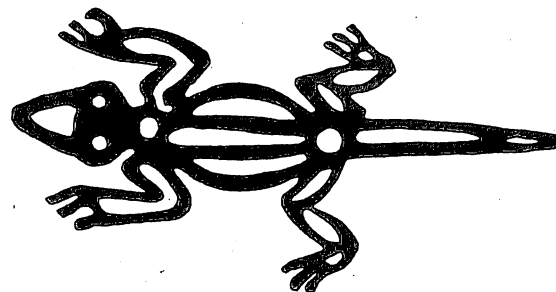
Photo Opportunities

We are especially interested in unposed action photos, either shots to accompany and illustrate an article, or a series of pictures for a photo-essay. We are willing to return photos, and will consider covering printing and mailing costs if we are contacted in advance.



Regional Correspondents

We need people who will help us find accounts and photos of activities in your area. People with contacts among campus, labor, international and multicultural groups are also needed. It is not necessary to do all the writing yourself, but we will



count on you to follow up on stories. Good working relationships with a variety of activists and organizing styles are important. If you are interested, please send a letter describing your work and contacts to George Franklin, Green Letter, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114.

The Left Green Network continues to grow steadily, with more than 350 members now with paid-up dues. A big reason for this has been the transfer of the administrative work from one individual (the author) to two collectives in Burlington, Vermont, one for the Clearinghouse and one for Left Green Notes, which has come out bi-monthly since the second LGN conference in Plainfield, Vermont last July.

The Coordinating Committee began to function this year through three conference calls, giving direction to the collectives in Burlington, and helping Left Greens coordinate activities. Most of these activities were educational.

The long-awaited discussion bulletin now has a collective in St. Louis to produce it. It will be the successor to Workers' Democracy, carrying forward that magazine's focus on resisting exploitation and struggling for workers' self-management into a broader ecological context, linking workplace struggles to community and environmental issues and discussing how society can be re-organized in an ecological, non-exploitative way. To be called *Regeneration: A Magazine of Left Green Social Thought*, it will begin publishing this summer and subscriptions will be \$10 to *Regeneration*, c/o Don Fitz, 720 Harvard, St. Louis MO 63130.

The 3rd Continental Conference of the Left Green Network will be held at Loyola University in Chicago, July 3-7 (See box, this page). A Left Green Program, more concrete than the 14 Left Green Principles but more succinct and strategy-oriented than the usual laundry list of policy recommendations, will be hammered out. An action program for the coming year will be decided. And the Clearinghouse and Left Green Notes will be passed on to new collectives (as it looks at this writing, to collectives based in Quad Cities for the Clearinghouse and Chicago for the Notes). Observers are welcome. Registration is \$25. You fend for yourself for food. We'll offer sleeping bag space.

For a registration packet or more information, write to LGN, POB 5566, Burlington VT 05402.

Howie Hawkins



Left Green Network 3rd Continental Conference July 3-7, 1991 — Chicago, Illinois

Wednesday night through Sunday afternoon at Loyola University

The Democratic/Republican bipartisan love affair is giving us war on every front — war in the Gulf, war on nature through the Bush/Sununu energy plan, war on civil liberties and human rights through the crime bill and attacks on abortion rights, war on everyday working people through social program cuts and high military spending in a recession. The North American Free Trade Zone will tie our fates together across the whole continent.

More than ever we need an independent, radical, and ecological left in North America. Please join us in Chicago to work on building a genuine left alternative. Observers welcome.

Discussions and Workshops (partial list):

- Organizing Skills
- Feminism and Ecology
- The Left and the Greens in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.
- Electoral Politics and Grassroots Democracy
- Free Trade and the North American Left
- Anti-Racism and Environmental Justice
- The Politics of Regionalism and Community
- What Can the Green Left of the 90s Learn from the New Left of the 60s?
- Ecology and Critical Social Theory
- The Political Economy of Coordination
- Workers Control and Community Control
- Beyond Anarchism and Socialism?

Decisions:

- Amending Principles
- Adopting Program
- Choosing Actions
- Amending Bylaws
- Electing Officers



For more information:

Left Green Network, PO Box 5566, Burlington, VT 05402, (802) 862-0121

Restructuring proposal

New Greens structure supports

(Counting the votes of the late ballots would not have affected the outcome.)

Integrated Structure Wins Approval

Proposal 1b, commonly known as the "integrated" structure, won the approval voting process for the Green Council composition. The draft Restructuring Working Group proposal was finalized with the original proposed split structure reflected throughout the document. There are thus some minor technical changes which needed to be made to the final Charter and Working Guidelines in a number of places, to bring it into line with the will of the locals for an integrated structure. These changes have been detailed in the May IC Bulletin; if any are controversial, they can be decided upon at the Annual Gathering. The numbering format has also come in for some deserved criticism, and has been revised. Please let me know what you think.

There is some significant work yet to be done to make the structure a reality:

Working Group charters

All the existing Working Groups need to study Article III carefully. We need to debate and pass charters for the existing



working groups and/or Greens functions: GreenFund, Clearinghouse, International, and Green Letter. There are other working groups equally important: Budget and Finance, Planning, and Field Organizing.

Amendments

It's clear that a number of proposed changes are already in the works, to be debated and decided at the next Congress. I will help anyone in this process who needs it. The new Green Charter and Working Guidelines are available in a variety of formats, both hard-copy and electronic and will be sent out to all the locals. Please contact me (c/o 1840 - 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, 202-234-0041) if you would like a copy in a different format. It is best to work from the original text in proposing amendments, ~~striking through~~ language to be omitted and [inserting proposed changes in brackets]. For those of you who detest computers, a large-type, double-spaced hard copy will be available, and I will be happy to format your written proposals for submission to the Congress.

From Here to the Annual Gathering

There's not much time until the Annual Gathering (August 16-21) and its de-

Achieving over 91% support, the proposal of the Restructuring Working Group has been accepted by the majority of those Green locals which participated in the restructuring process. Our new name (at least until the next Annual Gathering) is The Greens (USA). Other key changes include the institution of a coordinating committee, a Green Congress as body of highest authority, an accountable chartering process for working groups, reducing the number of regions, and the creation of a Green Council (successor to the IC) to serve as between-Congress leadership and 501 (c) (4) board.

Out of 135 current dues-paying Green locals, 80 signed up to participate in the restructuring process. By vote of the last Gathering, signing up and either paying a special dues assessment or requesting a waiver was mandatory for receiving documents and having voting rights. The majority of the 55 non-participating locals are in California (only about 6 California locals participated in the restructuring process), whose interest in the GCoCs reportedly has declined sharply over the past year due to the California focus on party organizing in keeping with the mandate from last year's Annual Gathering.



passes overwhelmingly

movement/party integration

cision-making Green Congress. Grassroots democracy means that decisions are made as much as possible at the local level, and the upshot of this is that the locals need to see as much of the proposed agenda for the Gathering as possible. This includes proposed amendments to the structure and proposed Working Group charters; by Article VII, Section A.3.c, all agenda proposals must be in the July Interregional Committee (IC) Bulletin so that all the locals have 6 weeks to meet and discuss how their delegations are to vote. The Gathering itself can elect, by 2/3 vote, to hear new substantive proposals submitted after this deadline. This is done at the agenda discussion and review session at the outset of the Congress. (Of course, this agenda-setting process itself is open to change, by

2/3 vote of the Green Congress or Green Council. Some feel it is too cumbersome to require all Congress agenda items be submitted six weeks in advance, or else require Congress approval for placement on agenda.)

Thanks to all who helped make this process a success. This includes those who, by their criticism, ensured that the process stayed accountable and democratic. It's clear that we have the basis for a strong organization, given the care and concern many locals devoted to this difficult task. A detailed final report on the restructuring process from start to finish will be submitted to the June IC Bulletin.

Charles Betz
Restructuring Working Group
Co-coordinator

Restructuring: New Challenges for Greens

The immediate challenges of the restructuring process will be primarily focused around the August Green Gathering in West Virginia and the selection of members of the new Coordinating Committee, Green Council and Mediation Council. The challenge will be to select excellent people to fill these positions.

In particular, four types of people will be needed:

Campaign organizers, to come up with and implement campaigns to put the Greens on map as a national organization.

Field Organizers, people who can help organize locals and regions.

Fundraisers, to help the organization, and to help regions and locals raise money as well.

Mediators/negotiators, who can see the broad vision of all aspects of Green movement, whether direct action, electoral politics, community organizing, educational work, spiritual practice, social ecology, deep ecology—people who can work with all the diverse elements of the green movement to keep us going in a forward direction.

Greg Jan
Oakland, California

Here in the Ozarks, we've been enjoying Spring for the last three months. As everything leafs out, we're overwhelmed by the beauty of shades of green.

We are happy to hear the reorganization is ratified and appreciate all the hard work. For the next steps, we believe we must focus on the 10 key values. We must come to the realization that we are a very large green community who believes in the 10 key values and are living life on that basis. Greens are a majority! Our 10 key values are vital. They are truth. Let's bring them into existence.

Barbara Helen Harmony
Oak Hill, Ozarks



green news

Green Gathering

continued from page 42

you'd like to help coordinate car/vanpools in your area, or if you'd like contacts in your area.

The Cost: Registration fees include everything: lodging, meals, and all events. The cost is based on a sliding scale, ranging from \$25 to \$50 per day, depending on your ability to pay. A \$50 deposit holds your place at the gathering. Let us know soon, so we can plan for lodging, food, etc. A \$10 surcharge will be added if we don't receive full fees OR a deposit before August 12.

A limited number of full and partial fee waivers are available, awarded on the basis of financial need. Applications are printed in The I.C. Bulletin, or contact the Gathering Committee (address below).

If you don't plan to attend, but would like to help this gathering happen, send donations to GG'91 Rt. 1 Box 7, Pullman WV 26421. We especially need support for our multi-cultural efforts, and for low-income subsidies.

Help Wanted: Children's activities organizers; Workshop presenters (let us know which you'd like to present and why); Registration helpers; Shuttle drivers to and from airport; On site runners; Green Tidings typists; Food Coordinator; Whole foods donations; Setup folks (moving tables & chairs, etc); "Botanist types" for wildlife walks; Ballot counters; Clowns/Fools for The Raucus Caucus; Servers/Cleanup for cabaret; Healers for first aid and healing center; Pre-gathering fundraisers. Maybe you could throw a house party—have a good time and raise a few bucks at the same time.

This is our conference, and we need everyone to make a commitment to make it work. Think of what you can do now, and be ready to pitch in with a couple of work shifts at the gathering.

For more information, contact: Green Gathering 1991, Rt. 1 Box 7, Pullman, WV 26421, (304) 659-3193



Reflections on the Greens Structure

by Dee Berry

As I look back on the recently completed restructuring process of our Green organization and try to evaluate the outcome, I am still uncertain as to how I feel about it. For me it is not easy to decide if the structure that was overwhelmingly approved by our locals is good/bad, right/wrong or how it will play out. Because of my deepening belief that all we do involves tradeoffs and that reality is a dance of opposites, it is not surprising that my reaction would be thus.

But, I want to thank the folks at *Green Letter/Greener Times* for asking me to share my thoughts on restructuring. This has forced me to analyze the process and its outcome in a way that I would not have otherwise done.

For me the process began way back at the beginning of SPAKA when I coordinated the "category" entitled Internal Organizing. As Clearinghouse Coordinator, I realized that the structure we had haphazardly backed into was not adequate for a movement as dynamic and full of potential as ours. We had simply grown too big and complex to continue to operate under a structure so ill-defined and informal. To my great disappointment, the internal organizing SPAKA working group missed a great opportunity to deal with substantive organizing issues facing our organization and nothing very constructive came out of this SPAKA experience.

But the problems in our organization became increasingly more acute and the situation came to a head at the San Diego IC meeting. A restructuring process was adopted at the following IC meeting in Ann Arbor. Unfortunately, the procedure

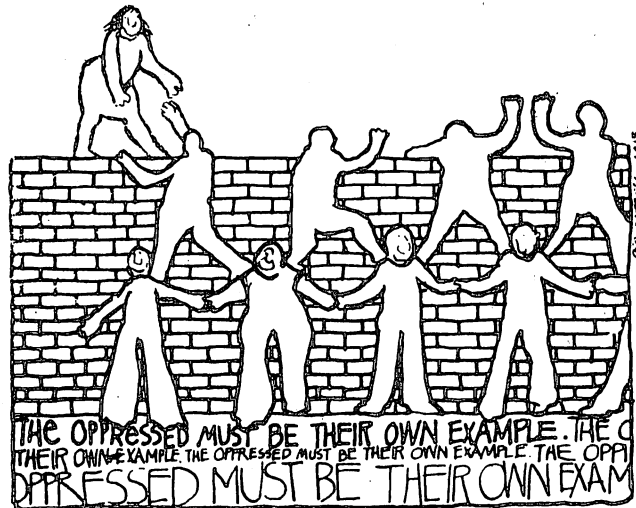
put in place for restructuring suffered from the same problems that had plagued the IC from the beginning—a pattern involving self-selected leadership chosen from those who just happened to be at a particular IC meeting. A new set of bylaws written by Lauren Sargent and Charlie Betz with input from Howard Hawkins (all with a Left Green perspective) was brought to the Ann Arbor meeting and this became "the structure" which the others, through the IC Bulletin, were invited to evaluate and amend. Though there were objections raised to the process, there was a strong appeal, again from the Left Green faction, to get this structure adopted at the Annual Gathering at Estes Park.

I, like many others, felt that both the document and the process, although they

made to others not there, to put their names in nomination for a new Restructuring Working Group. (It was unfortunate we could not solicit nominations prior to the gathering.) From this list, ten members were elected and a Green lawyer and a member of the Green Fund added. Although the working group could have been balanced better, as there were only four women and one minority person on it, it worked quite well. As the process progressed everyone really tried to listen to the minority and women's voices and these were often given priority in speaking. The Gathering also exhibited a new maturity by confirming a way for restructuring to pay for itself in the form of a membership fee assessed to everyone who wanted to participate in the process. For locals who could not afford the fee, it was waived. In this way, everyone, regardless of financial capability, could serve on the working group and all locals who wanted to could participate in the process.

The restructuring working group took their charge very seriously. We solicited input from the grassroots, met, and worked hard and diligently, often struggling with unresolvable problems and conflicting input from locals. We often disagreed but through our struggles became a community that worked together in a cooperative and supportive way. Out of our own experiences and knowledge, and the excellent input from other Greens, we crafted what I thought was an excellent and creative document. I would rate what we did and how we did it as "good."

However, the document prepared by the working group was not the one chosen in the vote of the participating locals and I am, of course, very disappointed. But the grassroots has spoken and its wishes will now be implemented. Charlie Betz will be rewriting the document to incorporate the now approved unified structure originally contained in the document submitted by Betz and Sargent. Although many ideas will be added to that original structure to make it more complete, ideas such as: a



contained many good points, were woefully inadequate. We believed that something so important and crucial to our movement needed a more careful and thorough study, more input from the grassroots and a more democratic process for writing and adoption. At the Estes Park gathering both factions came together and cooperatively devised a new process for restructuring which was overwhelmingly approved. Everyone at the gathering was invited and calls were

mediation council, separate coordinating committee, chartered working groups, a Rainbow Green Council and a multi-centered organization. From my point of view, many problems of the original structure remain.

First of all, I have a problem with the four-tiered structure. All of us will now be required to organize the Green movement along state lines. I feel this is a step backwards for us. As inadequate as it was, the regional structure of the old IC was at least moving to a bioregional approach. This will now be stymied as we are forced to delineate ourselves by artificial state lines. This will be particularly difficult in places where state lines cut across natural bioregions. The movement part of our organization must be able to define problems and solutions in diverse geographical dimensions so that the solutions will be appropriate to the problems. Few of our problems are "state" problems.

But one area where state level work is unavoidable is electoral politics. If we want to gain access to our political system on a multilevel basis, we are required by law to form state parties. This is the main reason why we have to differentiate, not separate, electoral politics from movement activity. But just because we are forced to organize by state for party work does not mean we have to accept these artificial boundaries for our other work.

My second concern with the unified structure is that it does not encourage diversity. One of my main organizing principals for ecological organizations is to always make choices that lead to greater diversity. I believe this principle has been ignored in the unitary structure. There seemed to be a great deal of muddled thinking, generated by the supporters of a unified structure, about the difference between differentiation and separation. To differentiate is not to separate and not to make everything the same, but rather embrace unity in diversity. Parties will have to be organized differently in each state. Some states may choose to work within one of the present two parties, some will want to organize a "pure" Green party, and others will choose to build alliances with

other Green-like groups. To put authority for chartering these difficult kinds of parties under the auspices of the Green council where those seeking entry have little input into the guidelines for entry could easily be seen as unfair and undemocratic. It will also be very difficult to build alliances with other groups if they suspect that any party they build will be under the



control of a body to which they have no representation. Many of the state parties put together with alliances will probably choose not to affiliate with the Greens USA. As far as accountability is concerned, this will have the opposite effect from what was sought by those who advocated a unified structure. I think there is also some confused thinking about the difference between accountability and control. Accountability is indeed a difficult and complex issue for the Greens and will become even more so as we become more active. We must try to develop many new and creative safeguards, but to assume that a unified structure will solve this problem is naive.

So I rate the document that has emerged from our process and will govern us for the immediate future as a toss up. I think we had the chance to approve one of the most creative and unique documents ever considered by a national movement. We could have been real pioneers in the development of ecological organizations, but some of the concepts contained in the working group's proposal were probably too innovative, complex and untried for

our troubled movement right now.

In spite of my reservations, to believe in democratic, grassroots process is to abide by what emerges from that proves and hope its the best for the Greens(USA).

Dee Berry was Co-coordinator of the Restructuring Working Group and is Prairie Coordinator, Member of Coordinating Council of Greater Kansas Greens, and presently co-coordinating a conference to form an alternative party in Missouri.

SPAKA Green Program Ratification Update

The program committee and editor have completed their revision of the U.S. Greens Program approved at last fall's National Gathering. It will be sent out for final ratification in the first week of May, 1991 to all locals listed as active by the clearinghouse. Included in the mailing will be the revised text of all SPAKA statements with a pre-amble, an official ballot, instructions, and a questionnaire on future revision process.



LOCALS MUST RETURN BALLOTS BY JULY 10.

A COMPLETE PRINTED VERSION will be available at modest cost at the August National Gathering in Virginia; plan to buy lots of copies for your local's members, for resale and tabling, and for educating community leaders and policy-makers.

If for any reason your local did NOT receive a ratification packet but should have, contact the Program Committee IMMEDIATELY: Keith Nybakke, 5208 29th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MIN 55417 phone: (612) 729-2723 EcoNet: knybakke



A Comprehensive Politics

From the earliest days of the Greens (formerly called the Green Committees of Correspondence) our political movement has grappled with the problem that using the label "Green" for our com-

and participatory grassroots democracy. In contrast, the "Group of Ten" (larger environmental organizations) use the term "green vote" in a much more narrow sense. Two of the articles in the Spring 1991 Green Letter reflected this problem.

Kathryn Cholette wrote of the ill fit in the Canadian Green Party between environmentalists and activists committed to the comprehensive Green vision and pro-

tional—We could better bring the Green analysis and vision into the political forum. (2) Movement building—Many single-issue groups and people of color feel we would have more to offer if we had ballot status, and (3) Strategic—Green candidates for local office would get a boost if the Green program were being discussed in state-level campaigns.

Just as a very slight (by no means comprehensive) example of the Green program being a multi-issue response to grave crises and suffering in the Earth community today, I'd like to cite the abbreviated programmatic section of a flyer currently being used in the Green Party of California voter-registration drive:

- Ecological restoration: healing, repair, and renewal of bioregions, not only the damaged countryside, but also the neighborhoods of our cities and towns.

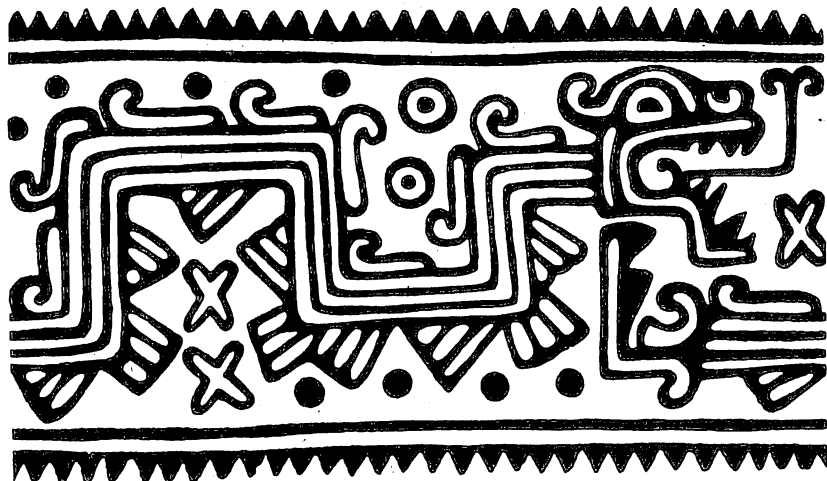
- Community based economics (the decentralization of economic power): a nonexploitive, ecological economy in which ownership and control are spread as widely as possible among the populace with worker-owned businesses of appropriate scale serving regional markets; increased workplace safety; small-scale organic agriculture; the spread of credit unions.

- An ecological, energy-efficient, demilitarized, non-nuclear economy using mostly renewable sources of energy.

- Human needs: community-based healthcare services; affordable housing; childcare available to all; self-esteem programs in the schools; greater appreciation of the cultural richness of California's multi-racial and ethnic diversity.

This "thumbnail" program appears alongside the Ten Key Values and a logo depicting Rainbow Greens. We hope the full flyer communicates the fact that "Green" and "ecological" thinking is holistic, systematic thinking that pays attention to interconnections among various problems and presents an organic vision of possibilities for the Earth Community.

Charlene Spretnak
Half Moon Bay, CA



prehensive politics might cause it to be confused with the environmental movement. Green politics address issues of ecology, social justice, peace, nonviolence (including ending structural violence that causes poverty and powerlessness), postpatriarchal ways of behaving (that is, non-dominating, cooperative, respectful ways),

Missouri Green Elected to City Council

Matthew Harline, a member of the Columbia Sweetgum Greens, was elected to the Columbia (Missouri) city council on April 2nd. Columbia is a city of over 63,000 people. The 25-year-old Harline is also a member of the Mid-Missouri Nuclear Freeze. His campaign stressed tree preservation and a crackdown on substandard rental housing.

Harline's opponent in the election was a supporter of the continued local political reign of land developers and business interests. Harline received 59% of the vote.

Jeff Taylor

gram. The situation there is different from in the U.S. because often the provincial Canadian Green parties were indeed founded primarily as environmental parties. Although her terminology seems to have a somewhat different meaning in Canada, her description of various ideas of Green electoral work was familiar. The notion of Green parties favoring, as does the larger Green politics movement, decentralized, communitarian structure and values seems to be the major focus here for electoral work.

It was dismaying to see the term "Greens" used synonymously with "environmentalists" in the exchange between Bruce Kelly and their Southwest Organizing Project. Clearly, we Greens have failed to convey the communitarian focus expressed in the Ten Key Values to many such community-based organizations.

In California, many of the Greens are now involved with birthing the Green Party of California, which will have state level ballot status if we succeed in getting 80,000 people to register their affiliation as "Green Party" by January 1992. The purpose of this effort is threefold: (1) Educa-

Peace & Freedom Veteran Cites Pitfalls of Third-Party Organizing



Dear Green Letter,

I would like to lend my qualified support to Zvi Baranoff's assertion (Winter 1990) that, at least in California, attempts to achieve ballot status for the Green Party is a re-invention of the wheel. Most Greens would have a hard time finding disagreement with the platform of the Peace and Freedom Party — ecology and social justice are at the heart of what P&FP stand for. So why the Green aversion to working within an established, alternative, ballot-status party?

My own experience as a member and candidate of the P&FP has been a fascinating and generally fruitful experiment in coalition building. I ran for San Francisco Sheriff in 1987, gaining nearly 10,000 votes and 6% of the tally. As a tenant activist, I ran an essentially single-issue campaign, promising to halt all evictions as a way of fighting homelessness. The campaign also afforded me the opportunity to address other issues including victimless crime (all three Sheriff's candidates were pot-smokers!), police repression, and the racist, classist nature of our criminal "justice" system.

In '87 and '88, there were three disparate tendencies within P&FP, and we fought like cat and dogs. So much for consensus building! The New Alliance Party is a cult-like group out of New York led by a former associate of Lyndon LaRouche, and their disruptive tactics were matched only by those of a reformist tendency which included the Communist Party (USA). The remaining majority was a loose coalition of radical greens like myself, trotskysts, and independent socialists who ran under the collective label of the "Socialist Slate."

If by forming their own Green Party today's California Greens hope to avoid

the sort of contentious infighting we experienced three years ago in P&FP, they are naively mistaken. If the Green Party achieves ballot status or any success in the polls, they can expect to be overrun by the same political opportunists who infiltrated P&FP. The New Alliance Party, which currently refers to itself as "Pro-Gay and Pro-Socialist," will waste no time in calling themselves "Pro-Green." They and the CP will flock to whatever party seems to be the best vehicle for their own questionable ambitions.

Besides the avoidance of inevitable conflict, I believe there's another reason that California Greens have avoided P&FP. This can best be described as an internalized form of red-baiting. Greens like to think of themselves as the purveyors of a new, holistic philosophy, one which owes more to indigenous cultures than any "Old- or New-Left" tradition. Yet this is a sad denial of our own history, and an unconscious acceptance of fifty years of Cold War propaganda.

To be sure, state socialism is dead, and good riddance. But there are libertarian and decentralist traditions within the socialist movement which we can be proud to claim as our own. We would be foolish to disavow a radical legacy that dates back at least as far as the Haymarket martyrs, and perhaps as far back as England's 17th century Diggers. For these links with the past can lend our movement an historical continuity that will see us through our inevitable bouts of futility and despair.

Ultimately, third-party electoral politics will always be an exercise in futility until, as John Resenbrink phrased it, "we level the playing field." Proportional representation, along with equal access to media and campaign funds, are a prerequisite to becoming more than just a "protest vote." As long as our candidates are systematically precluded from meaningful

participation in the political process, our ideas (as embodied by those candidates) will also remain marginalized.

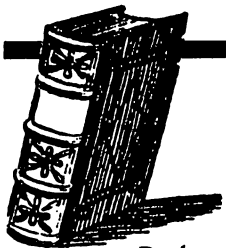
While I have no problem with helping to elect Republicans by drawing progressive votes away from the Democratic (sic) ticket, I do fear that our perpetual marginalization within the electoral arena will ultimately alienate our potential constituency. Nobody likes a loser, especially an institutionalized one (which may be yet another reason why P&FP fails to excite the imagination of today's Greens). At least direct action politics allows us to claim the occasional small victory.

I have made a personal choice to devote my own organizing energies toward building a radical, democratic alternative to the AFL-CIO trade unions. As General Secretary Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) in 1991, I hope that our union can work with (or within) the Green movement to fulfill that part of the Green program which calls for "organizing democratic unions" (Economics 2, 6b). It's my belief that the workers within the polluting industries are in the best position to shut those industries down, provided that those of us in their communities and unions are able to provide the necessary material support to see them through the inevitably difficult economic and personal transformation that such displacement will entail.

So to all those would-be Green politicians, all I can say is "best of luck to you!" Let's stand tall with the strength of our convictions, and not shy away from the ideological debate that must surely come our way, either in the P&FP or our own Green Party. If our Green platform is as strong as we believe it to be, the good-hearted will be won over and the insincere will fade away. In either case, our own commitment will be strengthened by the struggle.

*For a Revolutionary Green Future,
Jess A. Grant
San Francisco, CA*





Political Protest and Cultural Revolution

Barbara Epstein's *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution* challenges activists, supporters and critics of nonviolent direct action to weigh strategic as well as tactical considerations in their organizing and analysis.

Political Protest chronicles three non-violent direct action organizations from the 1976-1984 era (Clamshell Alliance, Abalone Alliance, and Livermore Action Group). Although Epstein praises their advances in forging a "prefigurative politics" to create the vision of a new society from within the shell of the old, she also explores why these antinuclear groups had a relatively short lifespan, and questions why the organizations were unable to devise

time to the present.

The use of affinity groups, consensus, nonviolence guidelines, decentralized decision-making and feminist process was highly successful in breaking down the alienation so often experienced by participants in mass actions. The results were rapport, trust, and the flowering of a very tightly-knit movement. Continuing to build "community" within this movement seemed more important than

again, the occupation was unsuccessful, and the Clamshell ended with much bitterness.

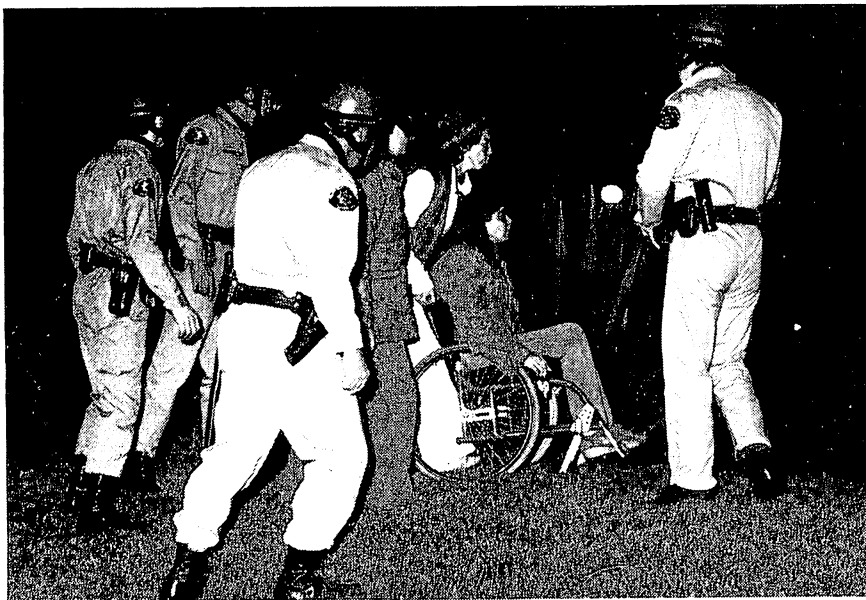
Abalone Alliance

Abalone Alliance focused their work on stopping the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant near San Luis Obispo, California. "Abalone's most important contribution to the direct action movement was the internal culture it created — a commitment to nonviolence combined with a utopian vision of a radically democratic society in which everyone's views would have equal weight and all relationships would be strictly egalitarian."

Abalone sustained itself better than the Clamshell because "it created a much more explicitly defined movement culture linking nonviolence and revolutionary aspirations through commitment to feminism and prefigurative politics." She credits this to the anarchist-feminist organizers within the Abalone, who linked the activists living near the Diablo Canyon plant with activists elsewhere that were skeptical of nonviolent direct action. Their argument that "feminism required revolutionary nonviolence gave nonviolence a legitimacy that was hard to challenge."

Although the Abalone had success both in aiding the effort to shut down the plant temporarily and in avoiding divisive internal conflict, it did not last much longer than Clamshell did. "Abalone was not entirely about Diablo or even nuclear power...Diablo was regarded as a window onto the nexus of nuclear power, militarism, and nuclear war." Even in the jails at the 1981 Diablo action, plans were being made to challenge nuclear weapons, which led to the formation of a new group.

Epstein is critical of this shift. "A movement that sheds its organizational structure when it moves away from an issue loses something in the process...The



any strategy to sustain their work beyond "the next action."

Clamshell Alliance

From 1976-79, the upper east coast-based Clamshell Alliance sought "both political efficacy and community. In its early history these aims reinforced each other easily..." until the spectacular success of the 1977 occupation, which garnered national publicity and resulted in 1414 arrests. The ensuing two-week occupation of the New Hampshire jail system culminated in reduced charges. This action has been emulated by other activists from that

stopping Seabrook to many participants.

Clamshell never really recovered from its internal crisis in 1978, when the spring occupation was cancelled at the last minute by the "old-timers," who made this decision in a coordinating committee before relaying it back for discussion to the local groups. This was viewed as a breach of process and of the principles of consensus; disillusioned Clams turned in large numbers to the "Clams for Democracy," who were willing to engage in "fence-cutting" to ensure that an occupation of the site could be carried out. The issue of property destruction divided the group yet

next time around, the institutions, the networks, the patterns of life that form the basis of political commitment will have to be rebuilt. Lessons that might have been learned, if people had stayed long enough to evaluate their experiences, are lost."

Livermore Action Group

The shift to protesting nuclear weapons focused on the government research lab at Livermore, California and gave birth to the Livermore Action Group. Based in the San Francisco Bay Area, LAG represented a broadening in the constituencies of nonviolent direct action. Epstein comments on how counterculture and mainstream people were able to work well together, accomodating a variety of religious and political perspectives, large numbers of lesbians and gay men, and many older people.

Epstein identifies the lack of a tangible and vulnerable target as a key problem for LAG. The organization was setting itself up for failure if it hoped to "shut down" the weapons lab or end the arms race. "To acknowledge that what the movement called direct action was really symbolic action and that winning over the media was a crucial part of the process would have raised very difficult questions about moral witness and the creation of alternative community as political acts."

The demise of LAG is attributed to internal factors: A much-debated "campaign proposal," suggesting that CD be only one of several tactics, was seen as "an attack on the counterculture by LAG's intellectuals" and a limitation on CD as a tactic.

Epstein's conclusion is that it is critical for the direct action movement to develop at least some "middle-range aims: longer-term than the closing of a particular facility but short of achieving a nonviolent, egalitarian society." She also concludes that prefigurative politics is an essential element of a movement for social change, but that the movement must accept the importance of strategy and cease its avoidance of conflict and power dynamics. The strategy that she offers is to struggle for cultural revolution and economic justice simultaneously, while working for a new theoretical perspective that

recognizes the inadequacies of traditional Marxism and encourages the growth of prefigurative institutions. For a sense of movement history, and for a vision of the future, read this book.

Bill Simpich

(Barbara Epstein is a professor at UC-Santa Cruz who was active in Livermore Action Group in 1983-4. Political Protest and

Cultural Revolution is available from UC Press, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley CA 94720. Bill Simpich is an Oakland lawyer who has been active in LAG and other nonviolent protest.)



Books in Brief

Saving Our Ancient Forests by Seth Zuckerman, Living Planet Press and the Wilderness Society, Los Angeles, 1991.

Senator Gaylord Nelson, in the preface, calls it a "splendid book." Smoothly-written, it is a primer to which one can refer often for the history, geology, geography, biology, and present-day politics of the ancient forests. In addition, there are useful lists of organizations, timber companies, catalogs and suppliers, guidebooks, and audiovisual materials.

Bridges of Power — Women's Multicultural Alliances, Lisa Albrecht and Rose M. Brewer, editors. Published in cooperation with the National Women's Studies Association by New Society Publishers.

In June 1988, over 2,000 people gathered in the Twin Cities for the tenth annual National Women's Studies Association

conference, "Leadership and Power: Women's Alliances for Social Change." This book compiles the hard-hitting, intelligent work that was done, for example, by Native Americans, African Americans, Palestinians, and Peruvians.

Home! A Bioregional Reader, Van Andruss, Christopher Plant, Judith Plant, and Eleanor Wright, editors. New Society Publishers.

Bioregionalism is defined in this book as more than just a set of ideas; but a movement as well. It calls for human society to be more closely related to nature and to be more conscious of its locale or life-place. This must be bioregionalism's textbook, but it doesn't read like a textbook, and the Bioregional Quiz will probably send you on a bioregional scavenger hunt to libraries, government offices, and university departments, if you want to get an "A," or even a "C."

Ecosocialist Manifesto

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sion is "the incapacity of the European development model to satisfy the basic needs of several billion human beings."

A New Political Culture

We have to move toward a new political culture, the authors suggest, embracing certain classical issues such as the extension of the concept of alienation to other domains beside work and profit, new social movements, and the extinction of the state. Political reactions to ecological and social risks must, above all, take the form of decentralized democracy, as participatory and direct as possible.

The question is then how to establish a new perspective of social emancipation. Part of the process is a prolongation of Marxist tradition, from which it "requires that it breaks its productivist, patriarchal, statist chains, and expands beyond in order to participate in a new emancipating project." The Euroleft option with the Italian Communist Party at its head is criticized, although "the possibility to cooperate, in certain moments or aspects, to

achieve new political and social majorities" is left open.

Ecology does show that the subject of revolution cannot be limited to the working class; it also includes consumers and users as subjects "due to their alienated condition in relation to nature and economics."

How to Act?

"A new 'ecological contract' can only be a new 'social contract' at the same time. But it never starts from scratch: productivism cannot be stopped—even less reversed—by decree nor dictat." That is why the Manifesto poses more questions than answers in relation to the new ecosocialist economy to be developed.

In general, the bulk of the analysis, although it is not specifically stated, refers mostly to the European situation—and by extension the United States and other "developed" countries. And that is, from my point of view, an important limitation. Although it is clear that the globalization of the level of consumption common in developed countries could not be borne by the Earth, how can we ecologically and economically deal with the basic right of

other countries not just to get out of poverty, but to be able to even reach an adequate standard of living?

Another important question on how to act refers to the social forces that will bring about such ecological socialism. "Ultimately, it will be societies, not productive forces nor minorities that will decide. We, ecosocialists, reject the idea that the most desirable revolutions are generated by spontaneous or provoked catastrophes. We think that rupture will have to be a complex and long transgression of a way of production and living to access others."

The nonviolent option and integral citizenship are important elements of the Manifesto as well. An egalitarian, di-

rect, supportive, general and thus ecological citizenship is advocated. However, we have to agree that citizenship is not especially ecological; there is a degree of consent to the status quo. "Ecologism leads us to ask ourselves, not only why so many harmful goods and services are produced, but also why people want them." That leads us out directly to the question of how to subvert such values.

We are witnessing "possibilities without precedent on a worldwide scale." The crisis of the system is a fact and we can use its weak points for action. To that purpose, the authors point to the construction of an alternative strategy which revolves around four basic ideas: Resisting, reflecting, reorienting, regrouping.

Resisting means "preserving as much as possible; acting whenever possible to avoid irreversible damages of tragic consequences. The more intervention is delayed, the more difficult it becomes."

Reflecting on new social emancipation trends; "Ecology demonstrates that we do not have excess knowledge, but a lack of it." But this knowledge is not the heritage of a minority of knowers; "it is social practice as a whole."

Reorientations "could start right now by taking measures against squandering," and the authors say that these proposals "are far from constituting the main ideas of a global program." So, it is necessary to delve further into aspects such as education, culture, information. The convergence of these ecologists' and workers' claims is fundamental because otherwise there will be no possibility of advancing.

Regrouping, since "social mobilizations will be the driving force of an ecosocialist transition," but not as a mere convergence of all the social movements based on "a common denominator. It means taking into account the singularity of each social movement as an element of strength and richness."

Obviously, this Manifesto is tremendously important—in spite of its unequal depth and the criticisms that can be made of some of its proposals. The proposals are not new, but the formulation of joint political action is. Its fundamental importance consists, in my opinion, in that for the first time in many years (at least in the European community), some main elements are presented in an active and coordinated way in a document. □

St. Louis Area Incinerator Network (SLAIN) &
Gateway Green Alliance (GGA) present

DON'T WASTE THE MIDWEST!

INCINERATORS & the FIGHT TO STOP THEM

Friday (evening) July 12, 1991 - talk by *Waste Not*
editor Dr. Paul Connert

Saturday, July 13, 1991:

BAD FUMES RISING Video Festival;
Concurrent workshops on strategies to halt
incinerators & technical issues of incineration;
Slide shows & theatre;
Toxic Tours of where you can best be poisoned
in the greater St. Louis area.

Eureka High School, (just a smokestack away from
the planned incinerator to burn dioxin-contaminated
soil in Times Beach, Missouri)

829 Highway 109, Eureka, MO

To receive a program brochure, call 314-727-8554 or write:
Gateway Green Alliance, P.O. Box 8094, St. Louis MO 63156.

Announcements

❖ Dirty Business

Migrant Media Productions presents *Dirty Business — Food Exports to the United States*. Produced and directed by Jon Silver, 15 minutes, color video (1990).

Dirty Business starts with the relocation of almost 400 food-processing jobs by Pillsbury-Green Giant from California to Mexico.

The video explores the many impacts of agribusiness in Mexico, including child labor abuse and harsh conditions for agricultural workers and documents overwhelming scenes of environmental degradation.

Dirty Business is available in 1/2 in. VHS, \$30 for individuals and grassroots organizations, plus \$5 for shipping and handling. California orders add sales tax. Schools, libraries and corporations: please inquire for rates. Send check or money order to: Migrant Media Productions, P.O. Box 2048, Freedom, CA 95019. Phone: (408) 728-8949



The Weaving Project/ Women in Resistance

The Goal, Intent, and Purpose of the Weaving Project/Women in Resistance includes direct support for the traditional weavers of the Joint Use and Big Mountain Areas (in Northern Arizona) and restoration of self-sufficiency and sovereignty of the Dine/Navajo Nation. The weaver receives 100% of the price which is asked for the weaving. With the consent of the weavers, The Weaving Project adds 10% to cover its expenses.

Rug shows are scheduled for San Francisco, New York, and Colorado Springs this summer, and more locations may be added. For information or to schedule a show in your area, contact: Martha Bourke, (415) 821-9167 or Kathleen Daily, (415) 647-8967.

❖ 1991 Summer Institute on the Columbus Quincentenary

Organized jointly by National History Day and the University of New Mexico and funded largely by the National Endowment for the Humanities, this summer institute aims to carry the latest scholarship on the encounter of 1492 into classrooms across the nation. It will be held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, July 15-August 2, 1991. The institute carries graduate school credit and provides modest stipends for participants.

The institute will explore the cultural and social processes of interaction between Native Americans, Europeans, and African-Americans. Participants will also visit anthropological and historic sites in New Mexico.

For more information, write institute director Michael Conniff, History Department, Auburn University, Auburn, AL 36849-5207, or Lois Scharf, Executive Director, National History Day, 11201 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, OH 44106

❖ Interfaith Impact

Interfaith Impact for Justice and Peace is an organization of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish agencies and people of faith who work to advance the cause of justice, peace and stewardship of creation in the public policy arena. Interfaith Impact has a special concern for poor and unrepresented people. Interfaith Impact is presently focusing on the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, a major bill that will be coming up in the 102nd United States Congress. The initiative's purpose is to confront toxic injustice in waste-siting in the U.S. and in the Third World. Contacts are sought, particularly from representatives of low income and minority communities. If interested notify Mark Guiton, Interfaith Impact, 110 Maryland Ave, NE, Washington, DC 20002; (202) 543-2800; Fax# (202) 547-8107.

❖ Join Impact's GE Boycott

GE makes critical components to more nuclear weapons systems than any other corporation. GE helps to ensure a spiraling arms buildup by influencing government policies and decisions on war

and peace and by aggressively marketing its products — nuclear weapons — to Congress and the Pentagon. Contact INFACIT, Northern California 2414-B Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94612. Call 415-272-9522, for more information.

❖ Survival School for the Dine (traditional Navajo) People.

In order to rebuild and retain the Dine traditions, the community has begun to take several steps toward self-sufficiency. A Survival School and a Weaving Project to create a weaving collective on the land are just two of those steps. If you have reading, writing, mathematics, art, music, woodworking, horticulture, basketmaking or health skills that you are willing to share with the Dine community, please contact the Big Mountain Support Group, c/o M. Bourke, P.O. Box 882221, San Francisco, CA 94188-2221; (415) 821-9167.

❖ Bookchin Tribute

Renewing the Earth - A celebration of the work of Murray Bookchin. This is a collection edited by John Clark Good and published by Green Print, an imprint of Merlin Press, 10 Malden Road, London, NW5 3HR. Erudite and intense.

Communities

Communities, a Journal of Cooperative Living, has published the 1990/91 *Directory of Intentional Communities*. It is believed to be the most comprehensive and accurate directory of intentional communities ever created in North America. Extensive cross referencing and indexing make the information easy to access for a wide variety of users. There are maps, photographs, and 40 articles including: Finding Your Community, Personal Growth, Social Action and Land Trusts. Order from Sandhill Farm, Route 1, Box 155, Rutledge, MO 63563 for \$18 postpaid.

International Working Group

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tivists, organizations, and activities.

- * Consult with the IWG network on the formation of Green international/bioregional politics.

- * Issue public statements on matters of global concern.

- * Create lecture tours when Greens from abroad are interested in speaking engagements.

During the last two years the IWG has been involved in a number of projects that bring us closer to our goals:

1. The IWG is working with peasant cooperatives in the Dominican Republic who are interested in building a green movement. In addition, cities in Eastern Europe (including Prague, Bucharest, and the Georgian Republic), Tokyo, Calcutta and others are interested in sharing information with and about the U.S. Greens.

2. The Persian Gulf conflict prompted a Green network that spans over twenty-five countries. The IWG participates in the network known as "Gulf Peace." This important resource keeps many organizations informed about antiwar activities amid strict press blackouts. The IWG is very involved in disseminating informa-

tion on the environmental and human health impacts of the Gulf War.

3. Juan-Tomas Rehbock represents the IWG and the Bioregional Congress on the Environmental Liaison Centre International (ELCI) board of directors. His two-year term began in early 1991. ELCI assists the United Nations Environmental Programme in shaping U.N. environmental policies. Juan-Tomas will represent us at the ELCI conference in Nairobi, Kenya later this year.

4. In our efforts to encourage and send delegates to Green conferences abroad, authorized correspondents from the IWG have participated in conferences in Lithuania, Paris, Brussels, Poland, Argentina, Bonn and Montreal.

The IWG aspires to be a significant link in the emerging Green network. We hope that you will join us in our efforts. If you are interested in working with the IWG or wish to make a donation to our ongoing work, please fill out the coupon enclosed. Your contribution is crucial if we are to make significant progress in establishing the Greens at the global level.

Yours Sincerely, For the Earth
Kendra Ellis and Ross Mirkarimi
Co-Coordiators

Mount Apo

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Apo to the death. Inviting others to join them in their struggle, a Bagobo tribal leader appealed to non-indigenous people: "Help us defend Apo Sandawa. You have already taken most of our ancestral land. We ask that what remains of our ancestral land be left untouched. We have moved to the mountains, still, we have no security because of the PNOC. Please do not disturb us anymore."

You can help the indigenous Filipinos by expressing your opposition to the Mt. Apo geothermal project to:

President Corazon Aquino
Malacanag Palace
Metro Manila, Philippines
Secretary Fulgencio Factoran, Jr.
Dept. Of Environment and Natural Resources
Visayas Avenue,
Diliman, Quezon City, Phillipine

Philip Waite works in the Philippine Resource Center. Stephanie Mesina is a member of the steering committee of the Peninsula Conservation Center's Business Environmental Program Awards.

War Resisters Need Our Support!

Major U.S. fighting in the Gulf has stopped. But for many service members—thousands—who said no to the war in a variety of ways, the war has not ended.

Mobilization and war caused significant disenchantment with military service in many young people who were led to think of the military as an educational training institute where one could also earn money for school. Moreover, it was the first time most young service members faced the possibility of being forced to kill on command.

Many more service members are expected to develop misgivings about military service as U.S. troops continue to occupy parts of Iraq and enforce martial law in Kuwait.

Virtually no conscientious objection (C.O.) claims filed since the begin-

ning of Operation Desert Shield in early August have been granted. More than 40 Marine Corps objectors are being held at Camp Lejeune, N.C., in a special "C.O. barracks" or in prison. In some instances, resisters have been placed in isolation and leg irons. Army officials in Germany have harshly treated resisters and forcibly deployed some to Saudi Arabia. African American service members of the Muslim faith have been singled out for harsh treatment. They have had the most difficulty in obtaining C.O. status; those in the Gulf have not been permitted to practice their religion and dietary rules. To date, Amnesty International has recognized three imprisoned objectors as "prisoners of conscience" and has called for their immediate release.

There is an urgent need to support service members who refused to participate

in the war and reach out to young people before they enlist. Resisters need personal and community support. Military counseling is urgently needed. Letter writing campaigns need to be started to support those facing discipline. To support the Camp Lejeune resisters, write to Major General Cooper, 4th Marine Division (REIN) FMF, 400 Dauphine St., New Orleans, LA 70146-5400. For more information, sample materials, contacts and other assistance in any of these areas, please contact:

American Friends Service Committee

National Youth and Militarism Program

1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
215-241-7176

Alaska and Exxon

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based on an objective verification of the amount of oil spilled. In fact, there never was an objective verification made. Exxon provided the original figures and has ignored requests for documentation.

Given the information in the *Summary Effects of the Exxon Valdez* report, long-term damage abatement and restoration will continue for many years; \$900 million and its \$700,000 estimated value upon final payment is inadequate. Restoration will be imperative for 3rd parties currently abandoned by the state. Before an accurate penalty can be determined studies on the impacts to salmon, crab, or shrimp and an accurate account of coastal impact in miles of beach oiled must be carried out.

Studies Suppressed

The Exxon Settlement suppresses information from studies done by publicly funded agencies. Suppression of studies deprives those directly affected by the spill of irreplaceable and needed information. In addition, withholding information paid for by tax dollars attained through public agencies is highly questionable. The state fears the studies will lead to the state getting sued, even though the studies do not assign guilt or liability. Ultimately, the state has the responsibility to public and environmental health versus protecting themselves from future litigation.

Generally, court cases involving toxics have resulted in the suppression of key studies and reports. We have a prime opportunity to set a precedent for future environmental cases involving toxics and the public's right to know about hazards in their communities.

Third Parties

The State of Alaska is breaking arrangements previously made with 3rd parties. After persuading the Native villages to drop their cases against the state and convincing them to side with the them in the state's suits against Exxon, the state has now reneged on this arrangement. In the process of negotiating behind closed doors and making deals with Exxon without consideration of third parties, the state

is essentially siding with Exxon. If 3rd parties (Alaska Natives and fisherpeople, etc.) decide to sue the state, which they no doubt would under the circumstances, the settlement would effectively place the state on the side of Exxon. Bluntly put, the legislature would be funding litigation against its own constituents. The former Attorney General of Alaska has suggested that a legal "civil war" could result.

"The settlement would require 3rd parties prove entitlement to resource damages already recovered by the state and that the recovery was insufficient. The financial and bureaucratic advantages the state has should be used to aid constituents harmed by the spill. On moral grounds, the state of Alaska is abandoning those it represents and siding with an immoral and criminal party that has severely impacted the people and resources of the state."

Alaska Natives are the 3rd party most impacted by the spill. Community impacts are not represented in the settlement and the state insists the villages recover for themselves without the aid of the state. Impacts continue to threaten the integrity of Native communities and have caused devastating economic, psychological, and emotional effects in these communities. Villages were converted from a subsistence economy to one oriented around cash overnight. Subsistence grounds and waters remain seriously fouled and subsistence ability is still seriously affected. The cleanup also impacted the communities with transient rude people, and an invasion of ancient burial grounds, village sites, and artifacts. Elenore McMullen, Port Graham village Chief, says; "Our people don't have a whole lot of culture left, except what we have inside. We lost our original religion; we don't make

kayaks anymore. We do have our language, and we have our subsistence, but a lot of that is gone because of the oil spill." (ADN, 3/24/91).

To date there has been no village to village assessment of damages made by the cleanup or spill.

Alaska Natives and their villages live in and vote in the state, however they are being ignored by all parties of this settlement. Given the state's role in the spill, which is fairly large considering its lack of enforcement of critical laws, the state has a responsibility to those negatively affected by the spill; including, extensive restoration of damaged resources and communities. The last thing these villages need is development impacting their subsistence areas, as planned by Hickie and AG Cole.

Conclusion

If the State of Alaska were to act in a morally appropriate and responsible manner, it would reject this settlement in favor of upholding its constituencies' rights, including a fair and just settlement. They would also prepare themselves to make reparations to the Native Villages that bore the brunt of the devastating impacts of the spill; such as offering support in the efforts being undertaken to restore the economic and social integrity of the villages. These reparations should not have to be sued for through lengthy and costly legal processes.

Rather, they should be willingly offered as rightful acts given the states blatant disregard for the welfare and health of its people.

There is still time to provide comment on this settlement; Alaska's legislators need to hear from those outside of Alaska. To comment or for more information, contact, Alaska Action, Elise Scott at, 1372 32nd Ave., SF, CA 94122 (415) 564-7001. A slide-show and tape on the impacts to Alaska Natives will be available soon. □



Oil smothers the Alaskan shore

Alternative Budget

continued from page 10

need for the US to greatly increase its financial commitment to renewable energy R&D.

"For every dollar the US spends on energy R&D, less than six cents goes to all the renewable energy technologies combined," noted Randall Swisher, Executive Director of the American Wind Energy Association. "On the other hand, a single technology, nuclear power, which provides less energy than do renewable, receives nearly twice the level of funding."

A cornerstone of the alternative budget is the funding of a series of joint government-industry ventures that will aggressively develop technologies that have been proven in the laboratory, but which have not yet been demonstrated on a large commercial scale. These joint venture efforts include the development of large-scale renewable energy technology manu-

facturing processes, commercial-scale power facilities, building construction techniques, and methods of information transfer for passive solar building design and energy storage technologies.

"Other nations are seizing the lead from the US in developing renewable energy technologies," warned Scott Sklar, Executive Director of the Solar Energy Industries Association. "The European Community, for example, is outspending the US by 30 times on renewable energy export promotions while Germany, Italy, and Japan already outspend the US on photovoltaic, wind, and other renewable energy R&D."

As a consequence, the US's once dominant position in world renewable energy markets continues to deteriorate. For example, in just four years during the 1980's, the US's share in the world wind market dropped from 27% to 5%.

Public Citizen is a non-profit research and advocacy organization founded in 1971 by Ralph Nader to address an array of consumer and environmental issues. The critical Mass Energy Project is the energy policy arm of Public Citizen.

Copies of the 48-page report, *Investing in Solar Energy* are available for \$10.00/copy; copies are available to members of the media without charge from Public Citizen, 215 Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Washington DC 20003. □

Statement by Jonathan Becker

Despite very little federal support during the past decade, renewable energy technologies have made great strides. Today, they account for fully 10% of the nation's domestic energy production. That is more energy than is produced by all of the nation's nuclear power plants and so-called "clean coal" facilities combined. It is clearly more than is being produced by nuclear fusion which may never generate a single kilowatt of electricity.

Yet, the White House wants to spend at least two times as much money on nuclear fission, nuclear fusion, and clean coal *each* than it plans to spend on *all* of the renewable energy technologies combined.

In fact, for every dollar the White House proposes to spend on energy R&D, less than six cents will go to renewable. In fact, the President is proposing to spend less money on renewable energy technologies during all of 1992 than we currently spend for oil imports in a *single day*.

Solar Energy Expo and Rally, SEER '91

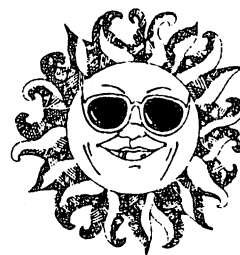
August 9-11, Fri-Sun, Willits CA.

The three days will be packed with exciting solar events, seminars, and exhibits. The main attraction is a solar and electric vehicle rally ongoing the entire weekend.

ISES Solar World Congress

Aug 17-24, Denver, CO

Contact: ASES, 2400 Central Ave., Ste B-1, Boulder, CO 80301 (303) 443-3130



Citizen Action

continued from page 13

To do this, Citizen Action has put forth the Campaign for Lower Electricity Rates. The campaign conducted an initiative signatures drive which collected 27,000 signatures and led to the formation of the Electric Franchise Review Committee. They have monitored the deliberation of the EFRC, City Council, and the Mayor's office and have successfully opposed a "deal" proposed by Toledo Edison which would have killed the EFRC study in exchange for a small rate reduction. The campaign also sponsors a series of public educational meetings.

For more information, contact: Paula Ross, 151 N. Michigan #328, Toledo, OH 43215, or: The Burgess Bldg., 1406 W. 6th 2nd floor, Cleveland, OH 44113 (216) 861-5200 (for CA in other areas, contact one of the above. □

Taken from Citizen Action information packet.



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About Green Letter Production

Green Letter is highly labor-intensive. As the Green Movement grows, producing the paper requires ever greater time and resources. Just sifting through our mail and keeping up with Green news is a major task. We are a volunteer effort, and income is almost entirely devoted to much-needed equipment, supplies, and expenses. The eight GL Collective members put in about 1000 hours per issue, over 80 hours per week, not counting the help we get from others. To meet the demands of GL, collective members need to be able to free up time we spend making a living. We can no longer depend solely on volunteer labor. We also need to raise funds to purchase equipment. To make a long story short—we absolutely need your financial support to sustain Green Letter. Thanks, information. It is always hampered by insufficient funds. You can help the Greens with

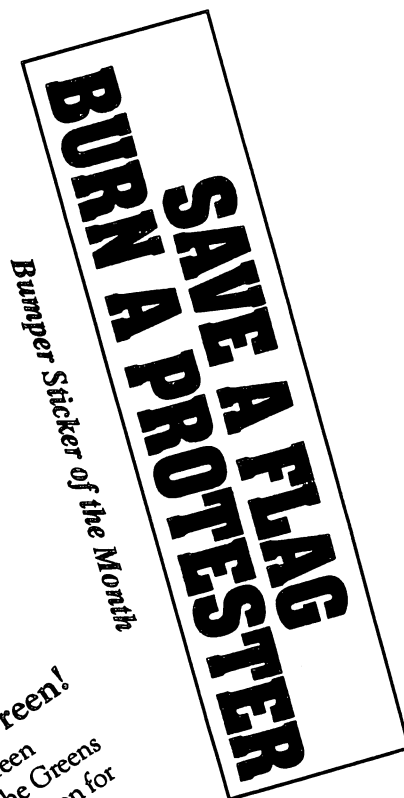
Hodge Podge Page

Submissions

We welcome unsolicited submissions of art, poetry, articles and ideas. We are always caught in the bind of being absolutely dependent on your submissions and never being able to print everything we get. We extend both our appreciation for all we get and our apologies to those of you whose work we have been unable to use—please understand when we don't get back to you personally. If possible, please send articles on computer disk along with two hard copies. Preferred format is on Macintosh 3.5" disks, Microsoft Word, MacWrite, WordPerfect, WriteNow or text only. We can also accept MS-DOS formats, either 3.5" or 5.25" disks, including WordPerfect 5.0 or 4.2, Microsoft Word, XYWrite III, Multimate, Wordstar and ASCII.

Special thanks for help on this issue to:
 Catherine Allport, Helen Posewitz, Kathryn Lynn, Jim Hildreth, Ned Bade, Kyle Pamson, Armstrong & Adair for equipment, Eric Brandt of Thunder's Mouth Press, Jim Rosenau, Redwood Cultural Work, Eli Rosenblatt, Susan Working, Anna Lisa Couturier

Correction: The article "On the Streets: The War at Home" from last issue was incorrectly attributed. The author was Anthony Von der Muhll. We apologize for this oversight.



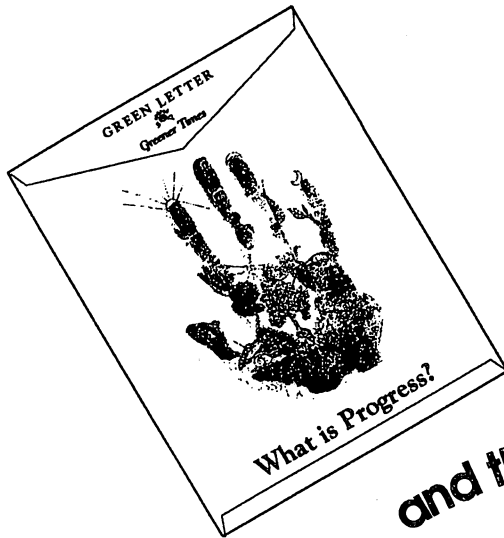
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